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THE
Commonweal

REFORMATION SUNDAY 1964

***Reappraising Luther, Calvin
and the Reformation***

Leonard Swidler

Kilian McDonnell

Showdown in California—Lloyd Zimpel

The Jenkins Case—William V. Shannon

The Courts and TV—Ronald Goldfarb

VOLUME LXXXI, NO. 6

OCTOBER 30, 1964

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THE COMMONWEAL

232 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

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Second-class postage paid in Norwalk, Conn. Printed in the U.S.A. and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and from mid-July to mid-September, at 116 Main St., Norwalk, Conn., by The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1964 The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc. U.S. and Canada, \$8 a year. Foreign, \$10. Single copies 25¢.

THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Change in Russia

WITH Khrushchev deposed, power in the Soviet Union passes to the third generation of Russian Communists, the generation that Western strategists have been counting on to press home bourgeois values at the expense of revolutionary ones. All three generations—those who made the revolution, those who arose during the early Stalin years, and those who reached maturity during the late-Stalin and Khrushchev years—have, of course, worked within the framework of the Communist myth. But in retrospect, it seems that only the first of the three was highly ideologized. Stalin speeded along the de-ideologizing process by consistently sacrificing the non-Russian Communist parties in favor of Russian national interests. His record of support for Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, at the expense of Mao Tse-tung's hard-pressed band of Chinese Communists, is only the leading example of his practical down-grading of Communist world revolution whenever it seemed to collide with Russia's own interests.

During Khrushchev's era, the success of the economic machine that Stalin had built bred some familiar bourgeois, capitalistic ideas of its own, and often seemed to be further debasing the Communist gospel. Though Russia kept a hand in at the game of subversion, under Khrushchev it seemed content with regimes like Nasser's, which were anti-Communist, but anti-Western as well.

Under one aspect, at least, the Communist world revolution appeared peripheral to traditional power politics. Edward Crankshaw has commented that international subversion no more affects the lives, thinking and interests of the ordinary Party functioning in Russia than the activities of the C.I.A. affect the lives, thinking and interests of the ordinary American. In domestic affairs, the Soviet detachment from what we think of as Communist ideology is even more complete. And the fragmen-

tation of the Communist bloc, which can be accounted for in terms of ordinary nationalist politics but not in terms of ideology, has both sprung from the de-mythologizing process and fed it.

THE LIMITED praise that President Johnson bestowed on the departed Khrushchev is apt. He condemned as dangerous the Russian adventures in Berlin, the Congo and Cuba. But he praised him for steps like the test-ban treaty that may be leading to a dissolution of the Cold War. He might also have said that for some time Russia has not been playing the especially troublesome game around the world that its subversive ideology calls for. Initiative here has passed into the hands of China's true believers.

Any sound estimate of Khrushchev must take into account his liberalizing of Russian society. He *did* carry his people a long way from the terror of the Stalin days into an era of relaxed discipline and emphasis on consumer comforts. And, whatever his reasons were, he pursued a foreign policy line which reduced tensions between the U.S. and Russia to the lowest point since the Cold War began. Any such long emphasis on peaceful co-existence is not merely time bought for the West; it can also be an education for the East.

Whether this education has been absorbed by the new Russian leadership is anybody's guess. By talking peace and by turning propaganda into test-ban treaty, Khrushchev has pointed the direction away from narrow ideology and toward political accommodation with the West. The thinking of Brezhnev and Kosygin is reportedly similar to Khrushchev's. Both are scientifically minded (*Pravda* now attacks Khrushchev for "unwillingness to take into account the achievements of science"), and both were small children when the Revolution clamped Communist ideology on the Russian nation.

It might be expected that their policies will be

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worked out within the more liberal framework erected by Khrushchev. As far as domestic policies go, few observers expect anything like a turn back toward Stalinism, even if a complex economy like Russia's could be run on such a basis. On the other hand, Khrushchev's liberalism (by Soviet standards it can be so labeled) may have led to his downfall. A little bit of freedom, as the Russians learned in Hungary, can be a heady and dangerous thing. Palmiro Togliatti, the late leader of the Italian Communists, wrote this in italics recently for the Russians in a posthumous note condemning Khrushchev for not granting enough room for democratic ideas and personal freedom. This extraordinary message, coming from a Communist of Togliatti's stature, may well have strengthened the hand of Russian Communists who consider Khrushchev's moderate liberalism a dead-end street.

In foreign policy, Russia remains caught between the U.S. and China and an attempt to recoup Russian prestige could just as well lead in either direction. The path of wisdom for the United States is to continue to encourage Russian moderation and to avoid any act that might drive the Communist allies together. President Johnson, we think, struck the right note in his television talk: there is no reason for either profound optimism or pessimism about the change in Russia; the Kremlin remains a "dangerous, dedicated" enemy, yet "we on our side are ready to get on with the work of peace."

The Nuclear Club

AND THEN there were five. China has joined the U.S., Soviet Russia, Britain, and France in what the parlance of foreign affairs blithely terms the "nuclear club." The absurdity of the language measures our inability to grasp the reality.

China's nuclear test came as a surprise to no one. Nor does the testing of a relatively primitive atomic "device" (not even a weapon) signal any decisive shift in the international military balance. China is racked with economic difficulties; Chinese science is hampered by ideological interference and its isolation from the rest of the world. At least a decade will be required for the Chinese to nurture last week's evil flower into an effective weapons system.

In political terms, the Chinese accomplishment is double-edged. Fewer and fewer Asian nations will be able to maintain postures of genuine nonalignment. This tangible evidence of China's power will encourage them either to come to terms with a supposed Chinese domination of their continent or strengthen their intentions to resist Chinese hegemony. On the other continents, a natural pride in the

scientific accomplishments of a non-white, developing nation will play against the fear of getting entangled in nuclear politics and destroyed in nuclear conflict. As regards the Sino-Soviet split, the possession of an independent nuclear force only serves to harden an ideological dispute into the precise data of kilotons and missile range.

But the most important immediate significance of the Chinese nuclear test was correctly emphasized by President Johnson in his address to the nation: "Communist China's expensive and demanding effort tempts other states to equal folly. Nuclear spread is dangerous to all mankind. . . . We must continue to work against it. . . ."

The "nuclear club" has potentially a long membership list. The basic scientific knowledge of nuclear weaponry is common. With 100 million dollars and five years of hard work, any industrialized nation could produce crude weapons of the sort used at Hiroshima. Some twelve nations, if they so desired, could develop both nuclear weapons and a delivery system by 1970. Among these nations are East and West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Japan, India, Israel, and Egypt—all of them involved in complicated webs of international suspicion and tension.

Various factors, political, military, and psychological, have thus far limited nuclear proliferation. To strengthen these factors the United States should immediately agree to extend the test ban treaty to underground testing. *Pravda* has printed a slogan calling for such action in its list of slogans for the November anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. On his part, President Johnson has pledged "to work for an ending of all nuclear tests of every kind." And recently two former scientific advisors to the Government declared that neither offensive nor defensive weapons advances will result from future testing.

Such a ban would not be to the liking of the Chinese (nor the French) who have carried out one nuclear test to over 450 for the U.S. and Russia. Extending the test ban treaty is therefore an issue with which we could probe the new Soviet regime's attitude toward China. But more than that, even without the signatures of China and France, a new extended treaty would reinforce the various reasons now preventing other nations from embarking on the road to nuclear status. The "nuclear club" is a fraternity of destruction; at this moment, it badly needs an anti-membership drive.

Labor's Opportunity

THERE CAN BE little question of Britain's need of a fresh start after thirteen years of Conservative

governments. Its economy has been severely declining; a three hundred million dollar trade deficit for the month of September spells an over-all situation that is truly critical. There was a wide feeling among the electorate that stagnation had set in, that for this reason alone it was time for a change. Harold Wilson, the new Prime Minister, manifests a sense of urgency when he speaks of what his Labor Government must succeed in achieving in its first "hundred days." Sir Alec Douglas-Home himself, now leader of the official opposition, promises a brief "honeymoon period" during which the Conservatives will not hamper the new regime from getting under way.

Labor's margin of only four votes in the House of Commons is one of the biggest obstacles to the accomplishment of a national recovery program especially as the nine Liberal MP's will tend to go along with the Conservatives except on national defense policies. And in the background stands the House of Lords which can delay for months enactment of legislation that it opposes. This makes for a gloomy outlook for the renationalization of steel about which Mr. Wilson and his party have been so vociferous.

What is required for economic growth varies widely from country to country; Britain's needs are different from those of the United States with our widespread unemployment and, for other reasons, from those of the underdeveloped nations. Under the Conservatives Britain had hoped to redress its unfavorable trade balance by joining the European Common Market. General de Gaulle vetoed this, and nothing substantial has been brought forward to take its place. Can Mr. Wilson with a divided Commons put through in time a program of tax incentives, new exports policy, subsidies to British industry, better credit terms, aid to small business and other stimuli designed to turn the heavily adverse tide?

In foreign policy, Labor is likewise greatly restricted in its area for maneuver. The new set-up in the Soviet Union adds to the uncertainties for the new government. Mr. Wilson opposes further proliferation of atomic weapons, favors a standby UN police force, opposes European integration and the mixed-manned NATO thermonuclear fleet. Labor has all along supported peaceful coexistence, which includes trade with Eastern Europe.

At a moment calling for firmness toward a new Soviet leadership and a China that has achieved its first atomic test, there is reason for concern in Washington over a still more conciliatory British government. Only the possibility that there will be a stronger Britain equally desirous of maintaining close Anglo-American ties can offset this.

Reformation Sunday

IN THE NOT very distant past, there was a Monday morning once a year when Catholics had special reason to feel uncomfortable. For it was on a Monday that they could read newspaper accounts of the sermons delivered in many Protestant churches celebrating the occasion of Reformation Sunday. As often as not, these sermons contained a heavy dose of anti-Romish sentiment, proclaiming the Reformation as the beginning of Christian freedom. Though sometimes uncomfortable at this massive display of religious antagonism, Catholics could respond in kind. Was not the Reformation, after all, only the deadly fruit of ambitious men who counted the unity of the Church for naught and who put their own subjective whims before the authority of the one, true Church? Self-righteousness was the rule on both sides; and Reformation Sunday was a day on which Protestants massed their artillery for a resounding salvo.

Now another Reformation Sunday is upon us (October 25), but this time there is a difference. Indeed, the difference has been evident for a few years now. Instead of diatribes against Rome, there are now sermons which speak of unity and a desire for conversation with Catholics. Instead of a total glorification of the Reformation, there is an increasing emphasis on the harm of Christian disunity. From the Catholic side there is also a difference, symbolized well by the two articles appearing in the present issue. The first, by Leonard Swidler, discusses the changing Catholic evaluation of Luther and the Reformation. The second, by Father Kilian McDonnell, O.S.B., shows the value of a fresh look at John Calvin. Both Protestants and Catholics, then, are beginning to see the Reformation anew.

But it is not just the Reformation which is coming under closer scrutiny; the entire gamut of relationships between Catholic and Protestants has undergone a remarkable transformation within the space of a few years. The voting on the ecumenical schema at the Council recently is one sign of this. In their votes on the first two chapters of that schema the Fathers affirmed that the restoration of Christian unity is the principal aim of the Council; that painful Christian differences and separations occurred "sometimes not without fault on both sides"; that all Catholics "in some way have responsibility for the sins of disunity"—as well as many other points of equal importance.

If this sign of change at the highest level of Catholic teaching is impressive, there are many lesser signs of great persuasiveness. Ecumenical dialogue is now well established in a great many places; ecumenical journals and books are now an estab-

lished fact; Catholics has been appointed to positions in the religion programs of Harvard, Stanford, Yale, Brown, Western Michigan and Temple; Protestants lecture regularly at Catholic colleges and universities (and Webster College in Missouri recently announced the appointment of two Protestant theologians to their philosophy and theology faculties); and all this is only a beginning.

It is at this point that the cautious soul would say "But of course complete unity is still a long way off." And of course he would be right. Yet it may well be that Protestants and Catholics are close to a point where their mutual influence on each other is of decisive importance. There seems little doubt that the traditional Protestant emphasis on religious liberty and freedom of conscience has had a powerful influence on Catholic thought. And who could deny the impact of Protestant Scripture scholarship, not to mention Protestant emphasis on the "Word," on recent Catholic theology? For their part, Protestants are placing a new emphasis on tradition, on Church discipline, on liturgy.

There has always been a question of the meaning of the Reformation in God's providence. Some have seen it only in negative terms: an instance of man's rebellion against God's authoritative voice among men; or of the chastisement of a Church grown fat and arrogant. However that may be, the soul-searching of Christians today bears witness to God's power to bring good from a once unpromising tension. That is something to be grateful for.

James O'Gara is in Rome. His column, "All Things Considered," will be resumed shortly.

NEWS & VIEWS

TV and the Supreme Court

J. SKELLY WRIGHT, a United States Circuit Judge in the District of Columbia, argued for televised court proceedings in a recent talk to the annual American Bar Association meeting. But, he said, "... the initial experiments in trial broadcasting must be models of excellence." And, in a unique proposal, he suggested starting at the top—with the Supreme Court. He referred to the Supreme Court as a continuous constitutional convention, which reinterprets for each generation the fundamental principles on which our nation is founded. And he concluded that: "It would be a matchless lesson in the meaning of our constitutional rights and principles for the people of the country to hear the decisions themselves."

He has a point. Misunderstanding is a root cause

of much angry criticism of the Court on such issues as reapportionment, loyalty and security, and criminal procedure. We might have averted the national furor over the school-prayer decision if a TV audience had heard the court distinguish clearly between a state-prescribed religious exercise, barred by long-accepted principle, and invocations of a Supreme Being in governmental functions, which, in the language of Justice Black, "bear no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise . . . sponsored in this instance."

The Court announces several new opinions almost every Monday of its session. Some Justices read their opinions verbatim, but most paraphrase what they have written and generally explain what issue the case raised and how they disposed of it. This occurs in open court with spectators present. The justices read only those opinions or parts of opinions suitable for oral presentation to an audience. Most of them are quite good at extemporizing on a theme. With minimal, if any, change this procedure could be adapted to television. The public is present already. Television would expand on that "public" concept. However, there would be no need for elaborate equipment, or directors running around yelling "makeup" in the courtroom. No one present would need to know or even be aware of the television process. The Justices would proceed as usual with no change of official routine. There is little likelihood that this practice would convert these sober and mature men into primping hams, an argument which might apply in the case of televised trials. If a tape was made of the Justices announcing and explaining their opinions, it could be broadcast at an evening hour. Possibly, commentators (legal and lay) could discuss the meaning and impact of the case as a second part of the program.

Most of the reasonable objections to televised trials would not apply to this limited experiment. The processes of the Court would not be perverted. There would be no witnesses or lawyers whose privacy would be invaded. The case is, in any event, public, so the litigants can not logically object to the publicity. When one takes a case to the Supreme Court he knowingly enters the arena of public history.

To the argument that television of any kind would lower the dignity of the Court, Judge Wright points out that the most dignified ceremonies are now televised—church services, funerals, inaugurations. Other branches of government have successfully adapted to the opportunities of television. Second, if there truly is a reasonably broad public interest in the process of the courts, coverage of the Supreme Court would be an edifying, educational, experience. Judge Wright pointed to a recent Roper

survey which showed that 55% of the people get most of their news from television. Besides exposing the Court to a broad general public which would not ordinarily be exposed to it, Judge Wright's proposal would certainly appeal to a significant, albeit minority viewing audience which craves programs like this one.

Withal, Judge Wright's proposal will probably be better received by the communications media than by the bench and bar. Most lawyers, at least initially, react strongly against this idea. One common ground for objection is that courts should be sacred places and that televising them would be a vulgar-

ization—that the awesome mystique of the Court contributes to its power and respect. Behind all these objections is a deep-seated hesitancy on the part of most lawyers to disrupt traditional form, and a fairly common reluctance to take courtroom TV seriously. This may have been reflected in the chiding remark which one Supreme Court Justice made to Judge Wright after hearing his proposal.

"Your idea will never work, Skelly," he said with a smile.

"Why not?" asked Judge Wright.

"Because I don't have a blue shirt."

RONALD GOLDFARB

WASHINGTON REPORT

The Jenkins Case

THE JENKINS AFFAIR has enlivened the closing round of an extraordinarily dull presidential campaign. One has to go back twenty years to the Roosevelt-Dewey campaign of 1944 to find a contest in which the final result seemed so foreordained and the discussion so lacking in interesting issues. But since Franklin D. Roosevelt evoked deeper loyalties and had a more dramatic political style than either of this year's candidates, perhaps the true parallel is back another twenty years to the tweedledum-tweedledee contest of Calvin Coolidge and John W. Davis in 1924.

The disclosure that Presidential aide Walter Jenkins had been arrested in 1959 and again on October 7 of this year on morals charges gave dramatic point, if not greater substance, to Senator Goldwater's charges of corruption and decay. Jenkins, for all his personal friendship and long association with Mr. Johnson, was never a figure of real importance in the President's circle. During most of his Senate years, Mr. Johnson had two offices, one in the Capitol as the Democratic floor leader, and one in the Senate Office Building as a Texas senator. It was in the Capitol office that he spent most of his time and conducted his political and legislative negotiations. Jenkins supervised the less important Senate office which handled the normal constituent problems. Rather than an adviser on high policy, Jenkins was a cross between an office manager and an intellectual valet; he mixed drinks, hired secretaries, handled the routine paper work, and did minor political chores. At the White House, he chiefly worked on personnel and internal administrative problems. Although he is a more substantial person, Jenkins could be roughly compared in importance to General Harry Vaughan, a personal intimate of President Truman but far from the most powerful man in his official entourage.

The Republicans, however, have naturally and legi-

timately attempted to exploit the Jenkins affair for their own ends. Since it would be too vulgar to attack Jenkins' sexual irregularities directly, they have portrayed the case as a national security scandal. This approach has the further advantage of linking it to fear of spies and Communists. This linkage of issues worked effectively in several states for the Republicans in the campaigns of 1950 and '52, and naturally suggested itself to National Committee Chairman Dean Burch and the other extreme conservatives now controlling party tactics. If this involved grossly exaggerating Jenkins' role and changing the actual nature of his job, this was no more than the normal distortion to be expected when scandals break during an election campaign.

The moral issue in all its various forms has emerged as Senator Goldwater's only strong issue. In the broadest terms, he excoriates the whole society for its self-indulgence, materialism, and lack of independent spirit. He covers the spectrum from rising crime rates, broken homes and juvenile delinquency to the decline of fraternities on campus. This is the moral issue posed in what might be called its "decline and fall of Rome" formulation. Somewhat more specifically, he has also attacked demonstrations in the streets and developed the maintenance of law and order as a sub-issue. (In a sense, this is not an issue at all since to have an issue, people have to take opposing sides. Anybody here against law and order?)

Still more specifically, Senator Goldwater and his running mate, Congressman Miller, have pounded away at the Bobby Baker case. Baker, another of the President's agents and confidants—and a far more influential one than poor Jenkins—made a sizable fortune out of his knowledge of lobbyists and backstairs manipulation in the Senate. But although Senator Williams of Delaware forced the reluctant Senate Rules Committee to

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re-open the Baker investigation, the case had grown rather stale as a political topic. The Jenkins scandal was therefore a lucky break for the Republicans because it dramatized the morality-in-government issue in new form.

WHAT IS ONE to make of this whole morality issue as Senator Goldwater has raised it in this campaign? There is, first of all, the elementary distinction that he has failed to draw between social and personal morality. Thus, he deplures "the deterioration of the home, the family and the community, of law and order, of good morals and good manners." Children's manners, father's drinking, and mother's activities in the home, whether "deteriorating" or otherwise, are surely in the realm of personal behavior. There is nothing any President or political leader can do to affect these matters except to deliver an occasional exhortation. Senator Goldwater, however, places these personal questions in a larger social framework by attributing behavior he sees—or thinks he sees—to "the philosophy of modern 'liberalism,' the dominant philosophy of the opposition party." This personal misbehavior, he declares, is "the result of 30 years of unhealthy social climate."

A sweeping generalization of this kind is inherently unprovable, but certainly the weight of the evidence is very much against it. One could just as easily attribute the bobbed hair, shorter dresses, increased drinking, and freer sexual practices of the 1920's to the laissez-faire philosophy of modern conservatism, the dominant philosophy of the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations.

The rise of concentrated industry, the shift of population from farms and small towns to the cities, the introduction of the automobile, and the considerable increase in widely-shared wealth in the past half-century have been the main causes of the changes in manners and morals, and not the philosophy of "Big Brother" government so sincerely deplored by Senator Goldwater and the ideologues who advise him. The federal government has greatly expanded its functions to take account of nationwide industries and nationwide trade unions and other developments in economics and technology. Insofar as these new functions have been regulatory, they are indispensable. Insofar as they have improved welfare and security, most ordinary citizens experience them as beneficent and desirable. When he was addressing well-fed audiences at party fund-raising dinners, Senator Goldwater was warmly applauded for suggesting that Social Security be made "a voluntary thing" and for making statements such as: "The inescapable and harmful by-products of such operations as relief, social security, collective bargaining and public housing have been the weakening of the individual personality and of self-reliance."

Once he began campaigning in the first presidential

primary in New Hampshire last winter and up to the present, he has discovered the majority of voters believe that welfare measures such as old-age pensions, minimum wages, and government-insured home mortgages have increased rather than diminished their real sense of personal freedom. Only the nuclear control issue has been more costly to Senator Goldwater than his earlier animadversions on Social Security and the welfare state.

His position on law and order suffers from the same failure to recognize the social dimension of morality. He cannot deplore disorderly demonstrations, violence, and crime in the streets when he carefully ignores the far greater social immorality of the Negro's plight.

Senator Goldwater is on firm ground when he attacks the President for his tolerance of Bobby Baker's money-making operations. This is not a partisan matter. Back in 1924, Charles Evans Hughes, defending the Republican incumbents during the Harding scandals, said, "Guilt is personal and knows no party." Adlai Stevenson invoked this quotation in 1952 in an effort to exculpate the Democratic Party from the mink coat scandals of President Truman's cronies. General Eisenhower and his fellow members of the "Great Crusade" would hear none of this—and lived to see Sherman Adams driven from office for accepting a vicuna coat. Guilt is personal, and neither party is conspicuously better than the other in moral terms, but a party should be held responsible for the conduct in office of a President and his close associates. There is an atmosphere of cronyism and favor-mongering surrounding President Johnson which is reminiscent of the Truman days. If this were the only issue of public morality in this campaign, it might be decisive.

But again, there are less tangible but more important issues of public morality. Senator Goldwater would not acknowledge them as "moral" but that only underscores the limitations of his own philosophy. These larger issues revolve around the question of whether the power of the government is to be invoked to protect the public interest against private greed and shortsightedness. Over the years, Senator Goldwater has rarely failed to take the side of the private interests.

Two examples will suffice. He fought the Wilderness Bill enacted this year because mining and lumbering interests opposed it. He voted against the Neuberger Amendment to restrict billboards on the interstate highway system because the billboard interests opposed it. To most people, the conservation of our natural beauty and the protection of travelers against eyesores on the highway are issues that have a moral dimension to them.

President Johnson, notwithstanding his Texas wheeler-dealer background, is much more public-minded on issues of this kind than is Senator Goldwater, locked within the rigid confines of his ideology.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

Showdown in California

LLOYD ZIMPEL

PREDICTABLY, CALIFORNIA's mild fair housing legislation gathered an army of professional enemies among real estate and landlord groups in its few years of life. But not until the existing statutes were, in effect, merged and strengthened in the 1963 Rumford Fair Housing Act did the opposition stop merely grumbling and begin to show its teeth. Now, by placing Proposition 14 on the November ballot, fair housing adversaries have entered the pit for a drag-out fight to strangle all such legislation present and future, state and local; what happens with California's fair housing laws next month undoubtedly will bear directly on the destiny of similar legislation across the nation.

Almost from the moment it was introduced as a top-priority item in Governor Edmund G. Brown's civil rights program in the 1963 legislature by Democratic Assemblyman W. Byron Rumford of Berkeley, the fair housing act had tough sledding. For five months it was amended, debated, studied and kicked around in committee. While members of CORE kept a vigil in the capitol rotunda during the final weeks, the bill was at last worried through by a 22-13 vote in the Senate and a 63-9 vote in the Assembly just minutes before the session ended. Rumford received a standing ovation from his colleagues while outside the CORE sit-ins rose to sing "We Shall Overcome."

What they celebrated proved in practice to be a moderate housing anti-discrimination law. It superseded a four-year old law prohibiting discrimination in publicly assisted housing (that federally insured by FHA, VA, or similar agencies), and also supplemented the 1959 Unruh Act barring discrimination in business establishments, which according to court interpretation included services of real estate agents and rentals in apartments of three or more units. Essentially, the Rumford Act extended coverage to certain privately financed dwellings and added the administrative and enforcement powers of the state Fair Employment Practice Commission, in existence since 1959. The seven-man Commission was empowered by the new law to accept individual complaints of racial discrim-

ination, investigate, conciliate, order rental or sale if discriminatory practices were found and, as a last resort, award damages up to \$500. Landlords were free as always to employ their unusual standards in evaluating tenants or buyers; the law stipulated only that race, religion or ancestry not be considered. Excluded from the act were privately financed owner-occupied houses, all duplexes, and non-profit dwellings. Since all activities of realtors and salesmen came under the act, loud and instant dissent was thus assured.

Although greeted by proponents as a signal victory for civil rights in California, passage of the Rumford Act proved only the beginning of a nasty battle. No sooner had the measure cleared the legislature than a hasty campaign, backed largely by realtors and apartment owners, was organized to qualify a referendum for the November, 1964, ballot. The effort fell short of obtaining the required number of voter signatures within the allotted time, and the Rumford Act went into effect in September 1963.

NOW THE 45,000-member California Real Estate Association got into the act. Earlier, the CREA had withheld support from the referendum on the grounds that it "would repeal only the Rumford Act, that the Legislature could pass another such act at a future session, and that local governmental bodies such as cities and counties would *still be free to propose and adopt any such legislation they cared to.*" (Emphasis added) The realtors proposed an initiative constitutional amendment that would banish fair housing legislation from the books forever. The initiative offered every California property-owner, "absolute discretion" in choosing "to decline to sell, lease or rent" his property.

The broad scope of such language distressed both legal authorities and civil rights leaders. The California Committee for Fair Practices, in leading the early battle against the initiative, called it "an extreme measure never tried or suggested before anywhere in the United States, not even in the deep South." And the executive director of the FEPC said the proposed amendment was "an open declaration of war

LLOYD ZIMPEL is a writer living in California. This is his first appearance in *The Commonweal*.

upon the legitimate housing aspirations of at least three million Californians who are of non-white or Mexican-American ancestry."

Whatever lesson about reaching the public CREA had learned from the failed referendum, it now applied. It bought the publicity help of professional anti-discrimination opponents from whom rose the cry of "forced housing" and "God-given property rights." It was solemnly asserted that "the man without property rights is not a free man. . . . This is the most basic of human rights and among the most essential to freedom and progress."

The man here mentioned is not the non-white renter or buyer. For all the high-blown language used in its defense, CREA's proposed amendment was of a piece with its long-standing policy of "segregation and discrimination," according to the California attorney general's office, and in direct line with its public advocacy in 1948 of enforcing race restrictions. Other sources pointed out that CREA's parent body, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, could claim no better reputation for itself. Only recently, president Daniel F. Sheehan lectured his national convention on his conviction that white homeowners in middle and upper middle class areas would not accept Negroes; while executive vice president, Eugene P. Conser, further warned that "the Communist conspiracy in this country" was receiving welcome assistance from the "fair housing front."

THE SENTIMENT of such top-level pronouncements had crude, local effects. The manager of the Belford Gardens apartment complex in Los Angeles made no bones about abstract property rights. He admonished his tenants to help abolish the Rumford Act in order to "protect you and your family from neighbors to whom you and all Belford residents would violently object." Demonstrating the widespread willful misinterpretation of the law designed to call out the basest prejudices, he went on to caution that "any dirty, uncouth, unkempt, loud-mouthed, abusive person can haul us into court. . . . even dope addicts and drunks."

So disagreeable was the CREA stand to many conscientious realtors that a statewide rebel group, Realtors for Fair Housing, was soon formed. Impassioned and vocal as they were, they influenced far too few of their colleagues to sway the CREA. One stubborn dissident, attempting to make his position heard before a CREA meeting in San Diego, was shouted down nineteen times. The *Sacramento Bee* reported that "when he finally was recognized, he was ruled out of order, booed, hissed and told to shut up."

While the realtor and apartment owner lobby was finagling to dislodge the complex fair housing issue from the controlled and orderly legislative process and

submit it to the much vaunted "popular test," there was ample time for battle lines to become clearly drawn. If the anti-fair housing forces had the support of Secretary of State Frank Jordon, who claimed that California had no discrimination problem, the fair housing group had that of a broad spread of political figures headed by Governor Brown, who warned of providing fodder for the organized hate groups by pitting race against race. While the CREA affiliates claimed the Rev. C. R. Peterson, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Burbank, (who could be heard "every Sunday at 5:30 p.m." speaking on the Rumford Act—"Communist or Christian Inspired?"), the act's proponents could point to the support of nearly every responsible churchman in the state, including Catholic Archbishop Joseph T. McGucken and Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike, chairman of the California Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, and whose Grace Cathedral organization in San Francisco maintains a kind of civil rights trouble-shooting operation all along the Pacific coast.

Of the handful of major newspapers in the state, only the *Los Angeles Times* supported the amendment. It editorialized: "Discrimination will disappear only when human prejudice succumbs to human decency"; and even though hesitant before the sweep of the language of the measure, it deplored "artificial laws" that "exacerbate the situation." In San Francisco, the *Chronicle*, an early supporter of the Rumford Act, later began to back and fill after a reported "several hundred" letters to the editor expressed disapproval of the way CORE and the NAACP conducted a tenacious series of demonstrations against discriminatory job practices of several San Francisco businesses. As a curious expression of this disapproval, many citizens reportedly claimed they no longer found it in their hearts to support fair housing legislation. The *Chronicle*, at least implicitly, seemed to accept their illogical view.

In the tortured course of the initiative campaign the bitterest blasts from the Committee for Home Protection and the Citizens League for Individual Freedoms (and the Committee for Yes on Proposition 14, once the measure reached the ballot) were directed against the administrators and "enforcers" of the Rumford Act,



the Fair Employment Practices Commission. It was a "police-state agency" or a "politically appointed kangaroo court" with "inquisitive agents that intrude upon private lives and private business."

But, in fact, FEPC's "inquisitive agents" had little opportunity to "intrude," for—contrary to what many observers expected—comparatively few housing complaints were filed: in the first year of the law's operation there were fewer than two hundred. Some laid this to undue circumspection on the part of aggrieved individuals who hesitated to draw greater attention to the law by filing complaints at this crucial period. Others claimed that the total effect of the law, even in open and unopposed use, would never be extremely great, that its major impact would be educational. Evidence exists to support the latter view. Fair housing laws in operation for a year or more in Alaska, Colorado, Massachusetts, Minnesota and other states (seventeen states have laws affecting discrimination in housing, nine of them similar in enforcement provisions to the Rumford Act) have not resulted in any great change in neighborhoods—no flood of Negroes, no white exodus. According to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, such a law does "establish a public ethic which has a significant influence on the moral tone of the entire community. Further, while Law cannot directly end prejudice, it can control behavior, and there is conclusive evidence that changes in behavior result in changes in attitude."

LIKE enforcement agencies in other fair housing states, California's FEPC has settled practically all of its housing cases by private conciliation, with none of the "bureaucratic tyranny" and "public ridicule and embarrassment" that fair housing foes warned property owners to expect. Only one case reached public hearing during the first year and that mainly because the respondent, a San Fernando rental agent who freely admitted urging his client not to rent to a retired Negro couple on racial grounds alone, was quite willing to risk non-existent "ridicule and embarrassment" simply to establish a test case for what he claimed was the unconstitutionality of the law.

When the count was in, CREA's signature collectors had more than enough names to qualify the measure for the November general election. It was placed on the ballot as Proposition 14. Immediately Governor Brown, who had called fair housing the critical issue for 1964, named a blue-ribbon 35-member committee, Californians Against Proposition 14, to coordinate the battle. The skilled campaigners of this group were aided by such unofficial agencies as the one which distributed a lapel pin reading "Would You Want Your Daughter To Marry A Realtor?"

However, the Californians Against Proposition 14 had scant time to offset the CREA implication that their

amendment involved only a simple repeal of the Rumford Act. Far from doing that alone, the proposed amendment would reach even to the federal level: Robert Weaver, head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, expressed an opinion that such an amendment would violate the HHFA's anti-discriminatory requirements and so endanger California's extensive federally assisted housing, urban renewal and college housing programs. It has also been suggested that the realtors themselves will suffer, since the amendment would so alter a client's contractual obligations to the agents that commissions might well be uncollectible in some circumstances.

But the possibility of this poetic irony has not fazed the realtors who continue to press the battle with billboards reading "Rent or sell to whom you choose—yes on Proposition 14." The "No on 14" forces have countered with "Don't Legalize Hate," thus attempting to bring out the moral character of an issue that the CREA implies is economic only. But in the final stages of the fight, the CREA shows signs of hoping to find a moral stand of its own, short of a bald-faced appeal to the principles of bigotry. At a late-September meeting in San Francisco (during which, according to newspaper reports, realtors roughed up picketing clergymen), the newly-elected president of the CREA grimly promised that the final days of the campaign would be "the most bitter in California election history," and then gave his audience a sample of what he meant by questioning the honesty and propriety of church leaders' taking public stands against Proposition 14, as an overwhelming number have done.

With such increasingly bitter campaigning, California citizens may find it difficult to remember what is really at issue—nothing more than a reasonable law holding open the door to equal opportunity for decent housing for those minority group individuals who can afford it. It is this door that California voters will either swing wide or lock securely in November, while across the nation an army of realtors will determine their course by the outcome.

How Strange the World

Richness, strangeness, depth;
I see autumnal birds
in woodgrain; the heart's skin is thin as sight
vatic as drumskin;
a drummer's ten fingers make
love, hate, brushfire, beaching of that
scow crammed like a pod with seed of
universal hope, animal and man—

the fingers make night's end, conflagrations—

I ride on them.

DANIEL BERRIGAN

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Reappraising the Reformation

LEONARD SWIDLER

IN SOME AREAS the Catholic cultural lag between America and Europe is closing quickly, for example in Scripture studies. But we seem to be as far behind in Reformation scholarship as ever before. A quarter of a century ago the Catholic priest, Joseph Lortz, published his epoch-making two-volume work *Die Reformation in Deutschland*. This culminated a new and revolutionary trend in German Catholic Reformation scholarship that had started about the time of the First World War.

The first life of Luther written by a Catholic, Johannes Cochlaeus, was published the year after the reformer died. The biography was a vitriolic work that brought together every vicious tale and wild rumor about Martin Luther that the author's vengeful zeal could root up. The capstone story of course was that Luther, having almost succumbed to syphilis, in despair committed suicide, after which his body was carried away by devils. The existence of a vicious, tendentious book by a sixteenth-century Catholic would not normally concern a modern Catholic scholar. But under the painstaking scrutiny of another German Catholic, Adolph Herte, the Luther biography by Cochlaeus was shown to be of unequalled influence in Catholic Reformation scholarship almost down to the present day.

The end of this comet's tail, sweeping in a four-century path behind Cochlaeus, was reached in the beginning of this century with the scholarly works of two German Catholics, Heinrich Denifle, O.P., and Hartmann Grisar, S.J. For Denifle, Luther was an apostate monk, married to a runaway nun, who started the Reformation in order to give play to his lust. Luther was through and through wicked: "Luther, there is nothing godly in you!" Grisar, who published his three-volume biography of Luther well after World War I, did not launch such a massive frontal attack against his subject as did Denifle. He was, nevertheless, out to annihilate him. For Grisar, Luther was a psychopath, out of whose diseased mind the Reformation was spun.

But the tide slowly started to turn. Men like Sebastian Merkle began to recognize the merits of Luther as well as his defects, and the defects of the Catholic Church as well as the merits of the Protestant demands. Full tide

was reached with Lortz. He devoted over three hundred pages of his *magnum opus* to Luther, who is depicted as an essentially *homo religiosus*, a man of tremendous power of prayer, a volcanic genius, but with the fatal flaw of radical subjectivism.

But even before treating Luther, Lortz launched Catholic scholarship into a full reversal of the customary approach to the causes of the Reformation. Certain gross evils of the Reformation period, such as Pope Alexander VI's illegitimate children, are usually acknowledged, and then follows the "but"—but the other side was either just as bad or worse. Michael Servetus usually comes in about now: this is the *tu quoque* riposte. Or in very scholarly fashion it is ponderously pointed out that the tenor of the times, the general conditions of the age, largely excused such apparently un-Christian actions as the selling of benefices and indulgences or the massacre of St. Bartholomew's night. (I even heard of one Catholic priest contending that the people of that age were so inured to pain that they did not particularly feel the tortures of the Inquisition!)

BY STARTING out with the attitude, even unconsciously, that everything the Church did has to be defended, the Catholic historian destroys himself. He becomes instead a more or less technically sophisticated polemicist. He is not seeking the truth; he is seeking to discomfort his enemy and win an argument. But when the Church is defended by something less than the whole truth she is stained and contaminated: she becomes a captive of the "lie"; and one lie always leads to other, bigger ones, and to a constriction of freedom. And when the truth does finally come out there is a horrible disillusionment and very painful catharsis for the faithful.

The kindred temptation for the Catholic historian is, after having found unpleasant facts in the history of the Church, to attempt to explain them away with specious, *post-factum* arguments; to maintain that the actions taken were necessary, were the best possible at that time and under those circumstances, and that if those measures had not been taken matters would have been even worse. Sometimes, many times, this will be true. But to assume that it is always true is to canonize the past merely because it is past, a slightly paraphrased

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version of Hegel's dictum "Whatever is, is right." By contrast, one Catholic scholar today will have none of that thinking. He refers to the establishment of the Papal Inquisition in the thirteenth century as one of the darkest pages in the history of the Church, one that no one today will justify. It was a dark day not only as seen from the twentieth century, but an evil day, a day injurious to the Church, in the thirteenth century. If the Church had not inaugurated the Inquisition but had met the problem—it was profound, widespread and demanded drastic action—with approaches in preaching and teaching compatible with the spirit of the Gospels, the Church and society would have been better then, and now, for it.

TODAY THE *Index* is being attacked by some of the most learned and respected Catholic scholars. If the *Index* is abolished or essentially revamped by the Second Vatican Council, Catholics in general will probably take the attitude that the *Index* has now become outmoded and therefore a change was in order. The temptation for Catholic historians will then be to say that of course in the sixteenth and ensuing centuries it was necessary and good that the Church established and maintained the *Index* (first drawn up by the extremist Cardinal Caraffa, then Pope Paul IV, in 1559). The fact that the *Index* has been in the Church for four hundred years is *prima facie* evidence that it was a good thing. But the historian, and indeed the intelligent man in general, cannot stop with such superficial evidence. The evil of nepotism was a long time with the Church, but that does not justify it at its beginning or anywhere during its history. A thorough study of the facts may very well suggest that the *Index* caused more harm than good even in the sixteenth century; and this is what some Catholic historians, at least, should objectively search out.

Lortz has studiously avoided these temptations of Catholic pseudo-scholarship. The first portion of his "Reformation in Germany" is a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the causes of the Reformation. The picture he paints is not a pretty one for a Catholic to look at, but it is one, Lortz feels, he must look at if he is to face reality, the truth that will make him free. Although Lortz's two-volume work is not available in English, a much smaller volume of his, *How the Reformation Came* (Herder and Herder) is a distillation—in a hundred short, readable pages—of this section of Lortz's work.

There were many causes of the Reformation, but in back of them all was the dissolution of the medieval unity which was structured around the Church and its hierarchy, with the apex in the papacy. When the papacy fought the empire to a standstill and drove it out of existence in the thirteenth century, it might have been thought that the millenium was being entered. But the

empire had no sooner sunk into at least temporary oblivion when the new national states arose to present an irrepressible challenge to the papacy. Any justification that might have existed for the uniting of supreme temporal and spiritual power in the Pope faded fast from the minds of men as the national monarchs proved themselves more and more capable of administering the *temporalia* without help—or interference—from the *sacerdotium*. If this alone had happened it would have been to the betterment of the Church as she became more exclusively concerned with the *spiritualia* both in reality and in men's minds. Unfortunately, throughout the thirteenth century and on into the fourteenth century the papacy pressed its temporal power claims further and further, almost in inverse proportion as the bases for them faded. Moreover, the canonists ever more closely wedded the temporal and spiritual claims together, insisting that a rejection of one included a rejection of the other—a disastrous policy.

The next giant blow that weakened the structure of the Church was the Avignon Papacy; for nearly seventy years of the fourteenth century the Pope and his curia made their own residence not in Rome, but in a small papal territory in southeastern France. It was not the Pope's absence from Rome that was so destructive, but the fact that he was under the power of the king of France—in all things, for, after all, the spiritual and temporal had almost been melted into one. Much worse was yet to come. No sooner had the papacy returned to Rome than all Western Christendom was rent in twain with two Popes claiming authenticity and the homage of all Christians. For another seventy years they violently condemned and execrated each other. What a shattering experience this must have been at a time when religion was the warp and woof of life and society.

THE OBVIOUS result was the development of a movement that was bound to be thought of as a logical resolution of the problem of the dual, and even triple, papacy: conciliarism. It seemed more and more apparent to many that God would not leave His Church in a state of anarchy for generations without some recourse; it seemed clear from the situation that the Pope(s) could not be the ultimate source of authority in the Church. The clear alternative was the entire Church as joined together in an Ecumenical Council—which in those days included more than clerics alone; the Council could be appealed to over the head of the Pope(s). Only after the Council of Basel in 1431-49 was the movement of conciliarism very slowly overcome. But the scars Christendom carried from it were only superficially healed over; they would burst wide open, much more disastrously, in the sixteenth century.

Against such a background Lortz sees the development not only of the possibility of the sixteenth century reform, but even of its "historical necessity." A hue and

cry for reform went up from many voices in the Church as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries wore on. Abuses multiplied, and the worst of these were not the sexual adventures of so many of the popes, cardinals, bishops, priests and monks. Much more destructive was the lust for money and power that so many of the clerics indulged in. The curia sold benefices and dispensations with all the zeal and acumen of an Italian merchant; it was the selling of the dispensation allowing the twenty-five-year-old Albert of Brandenburg to become bishop in three different dioceses and thereby receive their revenues that led to the 1517 conflagration.

In *How the Reformation Came*, Father Lortz carefully details and analyzes these and the many other abuses and weaknesses that led to the Reformation. His portrayal is not exaggerated; it gives the lights and the shadows. Sadly the shadows predominate. In support of his portrayal he has the words of Pope Adrian VI in 1522: "We know all too well that for many years things deserving of abhorrence have taken place around this Holy See. Sacred things have been misused, the commandments transgressed; in everything there has been a turn for the worse. Thus it is not surprising that the malady has spread from the head to the members, from the popes to the hierarchy. We all, prelates and clergy, have gone astray from the right path, and for long there has been none that has done good."

TO DO HIS work properly, as Lortz has done, the historian must live in an atmosphere of freedom, of freedom to search out the truth and speak it, regardless of the embarrassment it may cause; no less a person than Pope Leo XIII said that this was the right and duty of the historian. Unfortunately, such has not always been the attitude of all Catholic Church authorities. Those loyal Catholics of the nineteenth century who saw no incompatibility between the legitimate claims of liberalism and Catholic principles, between modern historical research and science in general on the one hand and the advancement of the Catholic faith on the other, received short shrift.

Lord Acton and his colleagues were a dramatic example; there were many others less so. For several years in the 1850's and 1860's Acton was one of the editors of an English Catholic quarterly, the *Rambler*, which exulted in the variety and freedom of Catholic thought. The *Rambler* affirmed its right to speak on all matters not defined by the Church, and to proclaim the truth regardless of the inconvenience which might be caused or the reputations which might be damaged. The consequent pressures on Acton to say nothing controversial, to conform in the name of the faith, became almost overpowering.

Acton, however, spoke out many times for intellectual freedom. On one such occasion he said: "Solicitude for religion is merely a pretext for opposition to the free

course of scientific research, which threatens, not the authority of the Church, but the precarious influence of individuals. The growth of knowledge cannot in the long run be detrimental to religion but it renders impossible the usurpation of authority by teachers who defend their own false opinions under pretense of defending the faith. . . . They want to shelter their own ignorance by preserving that of others."

Nevertheless, Acton and his friends were eventually forced out of Catholic journalism through pressures from the English hierarchy. In fact, Acton's whole scholarly life was nearly ruined by the stifling restrictions present in Catholic England. He never produced any of the *magna opera* for which he had so many huge bundles of notes.

IN MANY ways the oppressive air of restrictions lifted with the coming of Leo XIII, at least as far as the leadership of the Papacy was able to effect. However, the rise of the Modernist controversy shortly after the turn of the century and the strong condemnatory reaction of Pope Pius X served as the occasion for repressive tactics. The extraordinarily brilliant—and orthodox—Scripture scholar, Father Marie J. Lagrange, O.P., for example, was not allowed to publish for years. Catholic theology in general was reduced to repeating old formulae that were not designed to meet the ever-arising problems. Gradually creative Catholic scholars resumed their probing research and publication, though with great caution. Those who would "protect" the Church by chaining freedom were, and are, always there insisting that certain problems are not open for discussion, that certain things ought not to be publicized, or at best that they should not now be brought out into the open.

But with the first session of the Second Vatican Council the condition of freedom within the Catholic Church took a dramatic turn for the better. The conservative and restrictive theologians and Church authorities had for years maintained not only the fiction that they were the line of Catholic thought, but also that they were spokesmen for the great majority of the hierarchy. In the fall of 1962 they found they were a decided minority—perhaps some of them knew it all along.

One task the historian must be free to perform for all society, and the Catholic for Christian culture, is to prevent temporal, historical conditions from becoming absolutized. This is a particularly critical task in such a long-enduring—and hence tradition-revering and authoritarian-oriented—institution as the Catholic Church. Many of the customs of the Catholic religion and the institutions and cultures it has inspired are presumed to be absolute essentials; but they are merely the results of historical accident. Historical, as well as other, research can do much in the prodigious task of establishing the truth, which will doubtless take many generations yet.

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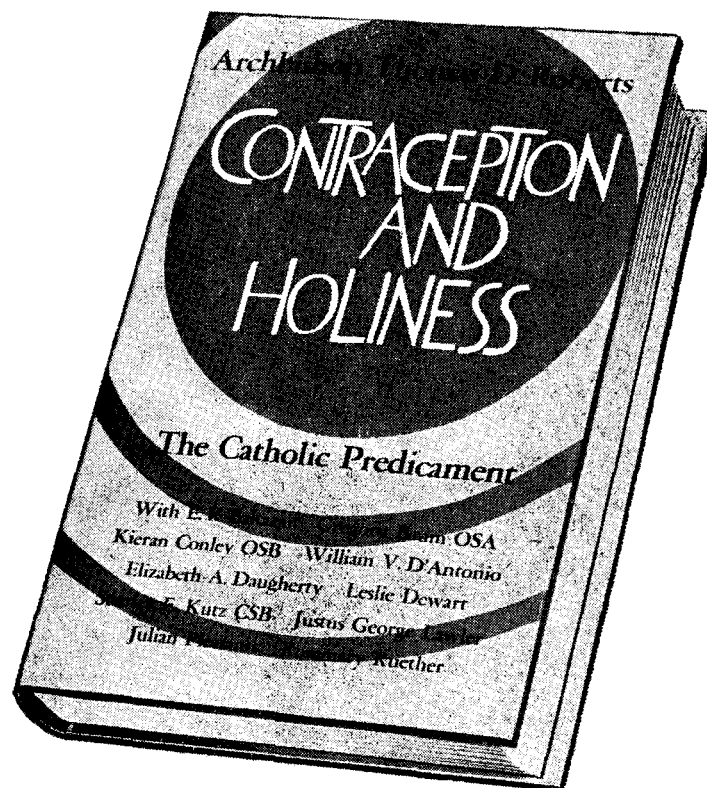
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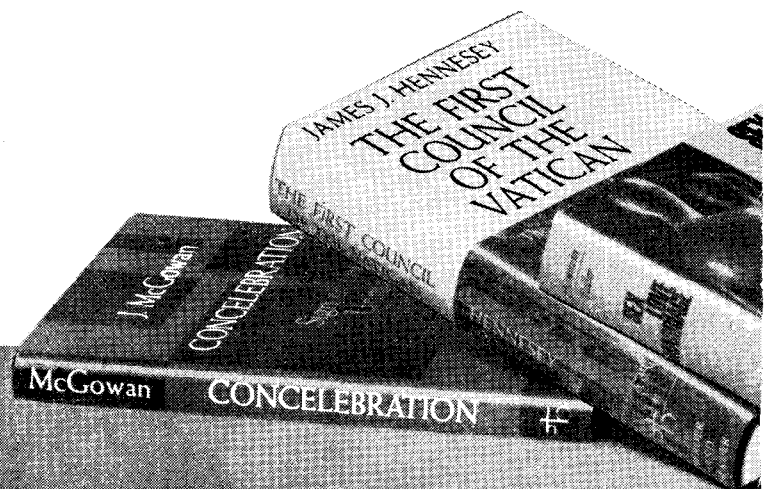
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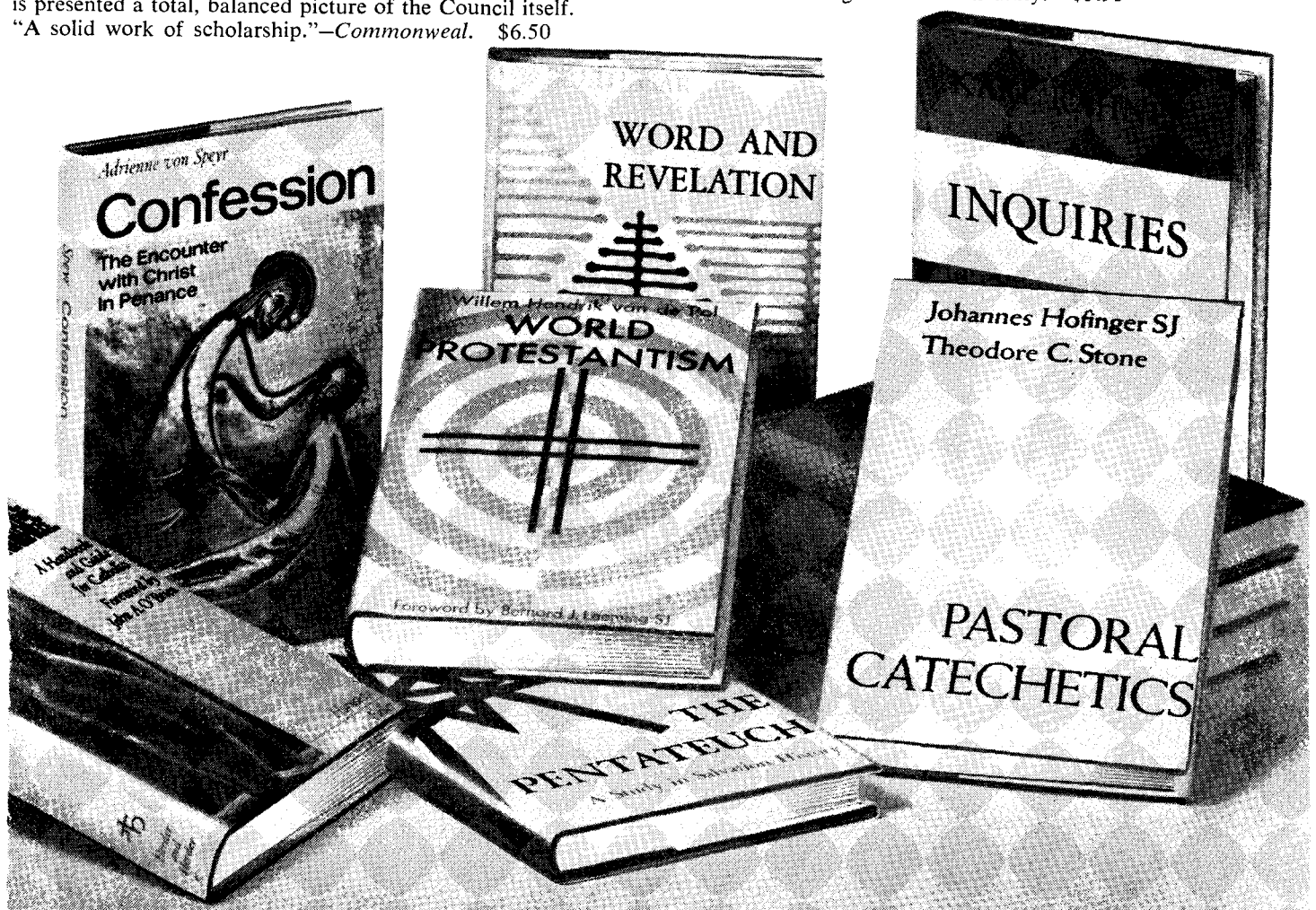
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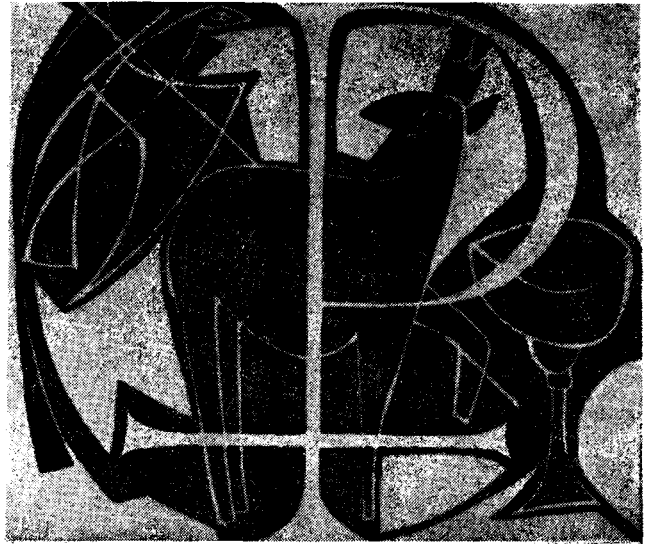
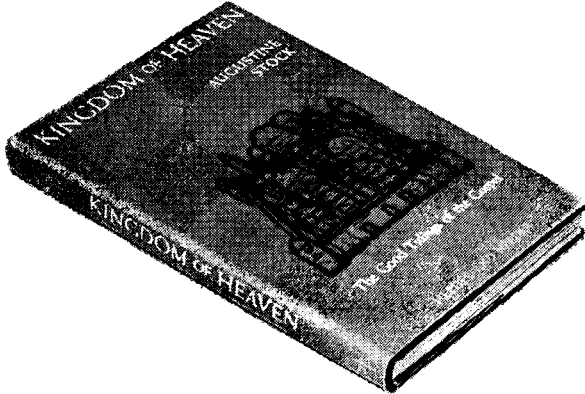
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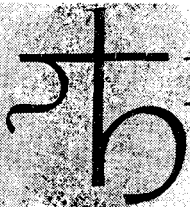
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Calvin Without Myths

KILIAN McDONNELL

MUCH HAS been done by Catholic scholars to restore the image of Luther, an image which is based on historical sources rather than one created by a Reformation polemic. The same service has not yet been rendered John Calvin, the 400th anniversary of whose death is observed this year.

Calvin has been traditionally neglected by Catholics. The Council of Trent consistently ignored him even though the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which Hubert Jedin calls the most outstanding systematic work of the whole Reformation period, had received wide acclaim as the *Summa Theologica* of Protestantism. But the Tridentine theologians thought of Protestantism in terms of Germany and simply identified Protestantism with Lutheranism, that "calamity from the North." Those Catholic controversialists who noted the heated discussions about the Eucharist which were carried on by Luther, Zwingli and Calvin did so only to score a point against Luther: they were looking for evidence of inconsistencies and fragmentation in the Lutheran camp.

This neglect would be understandable were Calvin a minor Reformation character. But though he is a second generation reformer, he is by no means secondary. The influence of Calvin and Calvinism soon exceeded that of Luther and Lutheranism, especially through the colonial powers, the Netherlands and England. The temper of the times was more amenable to the democratic spirit and form of Presbyterianism than to the more monarchical habits of Lutheranism: Calvin had given sanction both in word and act to resistance to civil authority, a fact which was not lost on the Puritans in England and the American colonies.

The neglect of Calvin in the United States is even more difficult to justify. Our national theological traditions are historically Calvinistic, not Lutheran, but the context of the contemporary Protestant-Catholic dialogue in the States is essentially Lutheran-Catholic. This is in part due to the appearance of translations of ecumenical literature issuing from Germany, where, of course, the Lutheran context is a logical development. It goes without saying that Luther and Lutheranism must always play a large role in ecumenical dis-

cussions, no matter where they take place. But Calvinist theology has world-wide relevance also. "Calvinism is the chief force in the Protestant world today," wrote Ernst Troeltsch in 1912 in his monumental *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*. Calvinists, using the term in its narrower sense, number about 45 million. These together with those living in the broader Calvinist tradition number about 100 million. And the spirit of Calvin animates most of the members of the World Council of Churches.

Calvin does not lend himself easily to a positive appraisal on the part of a Catholic. In his writings there is a note of deep personal bitterness beyond anything found in Luther. A French Congregation in London wrote to Calvin asking him if they were allowed to pray for the pope. To this Calvin answered: "I know that we must make due distinction between the individual and the abominable and accursed seat (of the beast). But I do think that those who pray specially for him who bears the mark of reprobation, have surely much time to spare. I lay down laws for no man, but it is a matter of concern that the sobriety of our prayers should express the reverence we feel for the name of God."

Catholicism has had revenge by building its image of Calvin around this note of bitterness. For Catholicism Calvin is the frigid logician, the bloody despot, the ambitious autocrat, the grim puritan, the rationalist, the ascetic of ulcerated earnestness, the man dominated by a messianic complex, the enemy of the joyous heart and easy laughter, the thundering preacher who delighted in hurling anathemas from the pulpit. To correct the image will not be to deny those faults of character which in part gave rise to the image.

Calvin's intellectual instincts and convictions were democratic but he was autocratic in their practical application. He had an autocratic disdain for plebeians. The tone of his letters was often lofty and imperious. In a period of much theological controversy he was not stand contradictions, still less personal attacks. He assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. He could not stand contradictions, still less personal attacks. He could be stiff, intransigent, irritable, petty, and in controversy could display an anger without measure. Heretic-burning hardly distinguished one religious leader from another in Calvin's time. But quite apart

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from this, John Calvin's part in the Servetus affair is evidence of an ecclesiology which unfortunately is strange to neither Protestant nor Catholic history, based on the unspoken presupposition that the Church is not bound by justice, that where the interests of the Church are concerned the rights of individuals do not exist.

THESE ARE all undeniable facts, but they are no more history than the records of a city's police arrests are its history. History is something more than a list of sins. This man who was proud also manifested great humility; and he who was petty showed true greatness of heart. Calvin was well aware of his irritability and obstinacy and he fought against them, like most of us, without too great a measure of success. "I confess that I am irritable, and though this vice displeases me, I have not succeeded in curing myself of it as much as I could wish." He knew that he was often harsh. He was capable of real humility, confessing his fault to the offended person and asking pardon.

His obstinacy was not entirely due to a messianic compulsion. It was in large part that implacable dedication to purity of doctrine which he considered the soul of the Church. "As for myself, noble lords, being assured in my conscience that what I have taught and written did not grow in my brain, but that I hold it from God, I must maintain the same, if I do not wish to be a traitor to the truth." However unfortunate Calvin's conviction that he was the personal guardian of scriptural truth in Christendom, it would be well for Catholics to note the presence in him of that fidelity to truth which an infallible Catholicism has only reluctantly conceded to Protestantism.

The Catholic image of Calvin as the cold, sullen, professional ascetic is largely overdrawn. A look at his letters shows a man of great reserve, but also a man of deep sensitivity, one who feels the need of friendship and who sorrows when a friend is distant. When Melancthon was silent, he did not hesitate to complain in the name of their friendship. The Geneva of Calvin's day was not an idler's paradise, but Calvin himself was far from being the dyspeptic paragon of humorless probity which Catholicism has imagined. "We are nowhere forbidden to laugh, or to be satisfied with food, or to annex new possessions to those already enjoyed by ourselves or our ancestors, or to be delighted with music or to drink wine." His own favorite pastime was a game of billiards. He lived in frugal surroundings, was personally poor for a long time, though not in dire need, and he rejected the suggestion that his salary be raised.

His irritability was not unrelated to his notorious bad health and his inability to sleep well. He conceived of an eventual marriage only in terms of his apostolate, on the theory that, once relieved of daily problems, he

could give himself more completely to the Lord, an apostolic basis for a married ministry similar to that upon which priestly celibacy is based. "I whom you see so hostile to celibacy, have never taken a wife, and I do not know if I shall ever marry. If I did so, it would be in order to devote my time to the Lord by being the more relieved from the worries of daily life."

Through the persistent efforts of Martin Bucer, a suitable wife for Calvin was found in the widow Idelette de Bure. One Catholic author suggests that on the occasion of her death after nine years of marriage, Calvin dismissed her passing, remarking that she had never interfered with his work. This is little short of slander. Anyone who has read the letters Calvin wrote after her death cannot fail to note how deep was his sorrow. He did indeed say, among other things, that she never interfered with his work, but this was not meant to damn with faint praise; quite the contrary. This eagerness to read coldness and pettiness into Calvin is typical of Catholic appraisals of the reformer. "You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor," has ecumenical relevance.

The most elaborate of the myths Catholicism helped to foster is that of Calvin as a dictator and Geneva as a theocracy. The myth is based on a false idea of the power which the Church exercised over the state, something which never obtained in Geneva. It was, indeed, the attempt of the state to exercise such authority over the Church that was the cause of endless difficulties. This perpetual struggle between Calvin and the civil authorities reminds one of the earlier investiture dispute between the pope and emperor. Calvin had to defend the independence of the Church from civil authorities who wanted to dictate matters of Church discipline. A case in point is the attempt of the civil authorities to assume the right of excommunication, an assumption Calvin energetically rejected, a right in defense of which he was ready to resign his position and leave Geneva. Calvin had to submit his books to a censor, a fact which caused him no little irritation. He was reproved by the magistracy. He failed a number of times to obtain approbation for projects which were of great importance to him, for example frequent



celebration of the Lord's Supper and communion of the sick. The civil authorities succeeded in introducing changes in Church discipline without consulting him, and this without Calvin's ever thinking of excommunicating them. Though Calvin wanted Servetus put to death, he pleaded unsuccessfully for a less barbarous method of execution than burning at the stake.

ALL OF this adds up to something less than a theocracy or a dictatorship. In the last nine years of his life, that is from 1555, Calvin did exercise a moral ascendancy over the Genevan magistracy, but this was an ascendancy without a juridic substructure, and he did not possess power in a juridic sense. Even in 1561, three years before his death, he was unable to have all his ideas incorporated in a revision of the Ecclesiastical Ordinances, in spite of all his prestige.

Karl Holl has suggested that had Calvin in reality been the grim dictator of Catholic myth, what Calvin had created should have been destroyed in a violent reaction after his death. This however never took place.

Calvin and Luther have been characterized as a systematic theologian and an exegete, respectively. Calvin has been praised for the clarity of his thinking, for the precision of his formulation, for a relentless logic. This is all true, but it is deceptive, and it has given rise to the myth that Calvin created a tidy, harmonious theological system. Actually, his masterpiece, the *Institutes*, is not a systematic work in the strict sense, but a manual of biblical theology for his students. There is a larger moral and pastoral element in Calvin than in Luther. Because speculation has no pastoral value Calvin has only contempt for it. His theological treatises are essentially pastoral.

Various attempts have been made to show how Calvin used predestination, or the providence of God, or the sovereignty of God, or justification by faith alone as the formal principle of his whole theology. But in Calvin there is no such single, formal principle. Instead there is a series of central doctrines, which oppose each other, each a central concern, and each demanding the attention given to an absolute. In any given dogmatic area two centralities, biblical themes, will stand over against each other, as mutually unyielding opposites. One cannot cancel out either of these centralities, supposing that since Calvin asserted the one he cannot have earnestly meant the other. In Calvin's thought the *opposita* must remain. The two centralities form the foci of an ellipse, and are related in ellipsoidal union and tension. From this union and tension comes clarification and ultimately an impressive unity.

The Catholic theologian, especially if he is a scholastic, is unaccustomed to the elasticity such a methodology affords and he is therefore prone to consider it a source of philosophical and theological confusion,

which, of course, is not necessarily true. However with a theology which is essentially didactic and dialectic there are certain to be lacunae, ambiguities, even contradictions. If Calvin was aware of this, it did not greatly disturb him. He cared little about honing a theological proposition to a fine point for the intellectual satisfaction of professional theologians, though he was also capable of this. He would not indulge in speculation but he did not absolve himself from writing on the most difficult problems in theology: Trinity, Christology, Pneumatology, justification, predestination. Though he was, in intent and purpose, pastoral, he was not just a theological popularizer. He wanted to set forth the biblical truths in an ordered pattern, placing his humanistic training and his great patristic knowledge in the service of his exegesis, and, it would seem, his exegesis in the service of polemics. Not to have created a tidy system was not to have failed since it had never been his purpose to do so.

ANOTHER MYTH prevalent in Catholic circles is that Calvin's God is the Old Testament God, that Christ has a minor role in his theology. There is partial justification for this myth. Christ is not always integrated into the theology of election and predestination. A study of his theology as a whole will reveal that this is a defect of his formulation more than of his thought. In part it was due to his dialectical method. Both the sovereign God (who is not to be identified with what is commonly supposed to be the God of the Old Testament) and Christ are centralities—though not opposites—and they do not exercise their imperium with the uniformity of a formal, systematic principle.

Nevertheless the myth remains a myth. The Catholic theologian who picks up a volume of Calvin has a surprise awaiting him. He will, at least at first, wonder how this myth ever arose. Christology as a centrality exercises so widespread an imperium that Christ is most certainly a dominating concern. This is not to say that all is well with Calvin's Christology—the ellipsoidal relationship between divinity and humanity has more tension than union and therefore has a slight Nestorian ring, though it remains within the bounds of orthodoxy—but just to say that he has a highly developed Christology.

When Catholics remember nothing else about Calvin they remember that he taught double predestination: to hell as well as to heaven. This is not a myth but the wider theological context has taken on a mythological character. Calvin was appalled by the doctrine. It was, so he thought, scriptural and there was nothing to do but to accept it; but predestination to hell was a great mystery which he did not pretend to understand, and therefore he preferred neither to dwell upon it nor to write about it at any length. This is clearly seen in his non-polemic writings where negative predestina-

tion receives scant attention. Nor does the myth of the Genevan reformer thundering damnation from the pulpit find any support in the sources. Calvin did not consider predestination to hell to be a matter for homiletic proclamation. Contemporaries of Calvin understandably denied it altogether, and therefore in his polemic works, especially in the *Institutes*, it takes up considerable space. To deny negative predestination was to deny the teaching on the absolute freedom of God, He who determines all and is determined by none, to use Congar's phrase. The two doctrines could not be separated.

Nor is predestination the central doctrine around which the systematics is built, as is sometimes asserted. Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor, moved the doctrine, of predestination to the fore and gave it a centrality which it never possessed before. In this area, later Calvinism was formed by Beza's systematics rather than by Calvin's.

The myth of Calvin, the man of bloodless insensitivity in pastoral matters is also unhistorical. When he preached on predestination it was as a cause of joy and assurance of salvation, an assurance weak and timid souls need, an assurance Catholicism failed to supply. Indeed, he accused Catholicism of pastoral insensitivity. It tortured simple souls with unanswerable questions. "Am I worthy to receive the Eucharist?" "Am I in the state of grace?" The people were not fed on the body of Christ nor on the Word of Christ but were forced to behold in reverent passivity from beyond the grill the glory of the true Israel, namely the clergy, incensing the altar.

A CHURCH which is concerned only about its structure, about the bare clerical bones by which it is held together, about its continuing existence, cannot give assurance of salvation. Assurance of salvation and forgiveness of sins are as personal as body and Word; these are personalities a mere structure cannot give. "If there is anything in the whole of religion that we should most certainly know, we ought most clearly to grasp by what reason, with what law . . . forgiveness of sins may be obtained. Unless this knowledge remains clear and sure, the conscience can have no rest at all, no peace with God, no assurance or security." Catholicism, said Calvin, could not give the assurance because it had lost its pastoral sensitivity in the techniques of contrition, confession, and satisfaction, acts of men. Calvin sought to build assurance of salvation on a foundation which no human frailty or weakness could undermine, the pure will of God and his decrees. These were beyond rites and sanctuary etiquette, were subject to no earthly or ecclesiastical law, thus giving an unimpeachable certitude of salvation.

A final myth is that Calvin's transcendent God cannot communicate himself to man, as Louis Bouyer has asserted. A look at the first book of the *Institutes* will show that Calvin develops his transcendentalism in opposition

to what he believes is Catholicism's domesticated God, this attendant God who is conjured up in this place and that place with a formula, summoned at clerical command and dismissed by digestion, a sort of instant God. To this tame image of the imageless, Calvin opposes the sovereign, transcendent Lord who is entirely other. Calvin was not unconcerned about the accessibility of God. One of the centralities is a deep, personal union with Christ, a union he dared to call substantial.

What he could not abide was the manipulated God, who did man's will, who was an object placed at man's disposal, who was a thing. It was the goal of Calvin's theological endeavor to restore divinity to God. He wanted to avoid all immanentism, but he insisted on God's commitment to the world as presence. Here the centralities distance and nearness, the entirely other and the everywhere accessible must be maintained in tension and union. He sought to explain the accessibility of God in terms of the presence in faith and in the sacraments. As regards the Eucharist, he himself preferred weekly communion in the parishes, but because of civil opposition he had to settle for four times a year. Converts from Catholicism communicated four times a year while as Catholics they had communicated only once a year. The immediate effect of the Reformation was an increase in communions. Calvin made it clear that both in the sacramental life and in the non-sacramental life God had, of his own initiative, made himself accessible. Accessibility was one thing, but manipulation was quite something else. Calvin would not allow men to bind God, nor would he allow God to bind himself.

October

The effects of the furnace are there
Though the heat itself has cooled.
Make no mistake, no one was fooled:
Something was being fired in the summer air.

The work was mainly in pure gold
Until someone went passionate with color
And claimed vermeil was in order
If the full story of fire were told.

A whole landscape looks like the work of smiths
Who knew just how to turn the days
According to one cabalistic phrase
Which might suffice for all our personal myths.

No one, therefore, is utterly estranged in autumn
And yet no one feels too much at ease.
The gunshot, a gust of wind, can make us freeze
As though we guard these things of fire
from sudden doom.

CHARLES EDWARD EATON

THE STAGE

Jazzing the Classics

THESE DAYS any play over ten years old is likely to find itself burlesqued in the style of "The Boy Friend." Condescension is a period specialty of ours anyway; and parody also provides an ingenious solution to one of life's knottiest problems: how to revive the classics without boring everyone to death.

Take Christopher Marlowe's "Tragical Historie of Dr. Faustus." You couldn't possibly play that straight, could you? Even if you chop the verse up into good Actor's Studio prose, it remains hopelessly talky—and it has devils in it, too. And if devils aren't funny, what exactly are they?

The only thing to do in a case like that is to go along with the gag (Marlowe was probably kidding anyway); milk the script for laughs; turn the devils into capering beatniks. Tongue-in-cheek melodrama will do for the heavy stuff (let's hear those devils shriek); and when you come to something that's really supposed to be funny, give it everything you've got.

This, at least, seems to be the strategy of the APA at the Phoenix production, and the result is a "Comical Historie of Dr. Faustus"—a madcap farce with a damnation kicker. Lou Antonio sets the pace with a nice whimsical Faustus. David Margulies is a barrel of fun as a pope who hasn't learned to handle his vestments yet (he seems to have picked them up from a sadistic, doubtless Protestant quartermaster). James Ray as Mephistopheles is sort of bored by the whole thing and conducts Faustus around the medieval pleasure-spots in rather the same spirit he used as John Malcolm Brinnin conducting Dylan Thomas around America.

The trouble is, of course, that the play is not essentially comic; neither is it the kind of bad-serious that can be hammed effectively. The serious bits do have to be faced, and here Mr. Antonio is hopelessly overmatched by Marlowe's verse, and fiendishly betrayed by the Phoenix production. Since the diabolic angle has been pretty much played for laughs throughout, we can hardly summon much dismay when Lucifer comes riding up in his fiery elevator; Faust's damnation can only consist of more foolishness with those hilarious devils.

In thin-lipped justice, it can be agreed that the audience is maneuvered through a classic without becoming too seriously bored. There are all kinds of explosions, firecrackers and flashing lights to keep one quiveringly alert, and a Helen of Troy who might have launched a ship or two at that. But whether the classics are worth doing at all in this distorted form, and whether it wouldn't be wiser to throw the book away and make another "Funny Thing Happened etc., etc." are questions that remain uneasily open. (At the Phoenix)

"CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS" is yet another humorous review from England, but this one is refreshingly short on bite, satire and irreverence. The performers are well-scrubbed, clean-spoken and "comfortable"; there is no suggestion of black-tights and anarchy about them.

At its best "Cambridge Circus" is pretty funny—so old-fashioned as to seem tolerably fresh. It is especially strong on physical comedy, making best possible use of the tall man-short man joke. The lines are seldom up to the sight-gags, although they have their moments. The biblical news-and-weather report ("Sorry about that, Egypt") would be one of them. At times, the show is oppressively mild, after our accustomed diet of garlic and castor-oil: a pleasant, undergraduate improvisation for the vicar's tea party, before vicars took to reading D. H. Lawrence. But whenever Bill Oddie or Graham Chapman are within reach, which is most of the time, "Cambridge Circus" sounds and looks funny enough by anybody's standards.

(At the Plymouth)

WILFRID SHEED

THE SCREEN

Joining the Ladies

TURNING up now are several new movies ostensibly about women but actually more concerned with men. Since almost all of cinema's producers and directors are males, this state of affairs is not very startling or significant.

Ingmar Bergman said of his new picture, "All These Women," it is a "comedy to bait the critics." All of Bergman's films have a personal touch, but this one is the most personal. However, if the great Swedish director is trying to make a funny "8½," he has sadly failed. The plot of "All These Women" is mainly concerned with a music critic (Jarl Kulle) who is writing a biography of a renowned cellist; he goes on a visit to the cellist's elegant estate where we see almost nothing of the cellist but a great deal of his wife and mistresses (played by Bergman's group of attractive actresses including Eva Dahlbeck, Harriet Andersson, Bibi Andersson).

A lot of hanky-panky goes on between the foppish critic and these seven women ("A genius acquires widows of many kinds") and Bergman even introduces quite a bit of slapstick in the Mack Sennett manner but without the Sennett touch. Some of the fun is supposed to come from the extreme contrasts, the pratfalls among all this elegance of the setting, the women, and the lovely pastel shades that Bergman uses in his first color film. Even the background music alternates between cello recitals and the frequent blaring of "Yes, We Have No Bananas" on an old phonograph. Some of the jokes are "in" jokes requiring a knowledge of Bergman's films and

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the reviews they got. Most of these cracks are kidding the critics, especially for reading more symbolism into a Bergman than is there. Perhaps "All These Women" was meant to be taken seriously, as in the finale at the cellist's wake with its here-today-gone-tomorrow theme when a new young cellist turns up, is recognized as "a new genius," and the critic starts on his biography. In spite of its occasional amusing moments, "All These Women" is mainly a pretentious hodge-podge with mediocre results. As a critic-baiter, Bergman is no genius.

PRODUCER-director Jules Dassin goes in for a lot of kidding in his latest picture, too. One gets the idea at the beginning of "Topkapi" that Dassin's wife, Melina Mercouri, is the whole show as she seductively reveals that she is a nymphomaniac and then goes about proving it as she lines up the various men who will compose the team planning to rob an emerald-studded dagger from Istanbul's Topkapi Palace Museum. Chief among the recruits is Maximilian Schell, who insists that they use amateurs; and among these amateurs are Robert Morley as an English scientist, Gilles Segal as a mute acrobat, and Peter Ustinov as the schmo, the one who will be the fall guy in case they hit a snag early in the game. And it is Ustinov who provides the most fun in this comedy's hilarious scenes. Strangely enough, the wiles of Miss Mercouri become only a secondary attraction as Dassin concentrates on Istanbul, itself, which is magnificently photographed in this color film, and on the robbery which is even more suspenseful than a similar lengthy scene staged by Dassin in his "Rififi." Although "Topkapi" has its tiresome moments and is too long, its shots of Istanbul and the tense robbery put this comedy-thriller in a class by itself.

BECAUSE it is a trick, and not a very good one at that, "Let's Talk about Women" isn't primarily about women at all. This Italian film, consisting of nine unrelated *contes* which are more like off-color jokes than anything else, is really a *tour de force* showing off Vittorio Gassman as the hero in each episode. Gassman has become a very good actor through the years and he plays some of these nine roles well—in different styles and in different costumes and make-up. But the plots—all except one concerned with sex—are hardly worthy of this display of Gassman's thespian skills. One gets tired not only of the stories but also of Gassman himself. Except for its dubious value as an exercise, there was no reason for having a single actor play all nine roles. Perhaps there was no reason for the film at all.

GINA Lollobrigida is so beautiful that I enjoy watching her even in a creaky melodrama like "Woman of Straw." The only real trouble with this English movie produced by Michael Relph and directed by Basil Dearden is that its story and kind of acting are out of style. As the nurse

to a ruthless, chair-bound millionaire (Ralph Richardson), Gina has some cause to dislike her self-centered patient. But his nephew (Sean Connery), who hates him, persuades Gina to marry the old bat who hasn't much longer to live, and then they'll soon share his dough. Shortly after the wedding, grouchy Ralph is found dead; and shortly after that, Gina is blamed for his murder.

Ralph Richardson plays his meanie role to the hilt, while Gina and Sean carry on with love and games—all this with some beautiful color photography along the Mediterranean shores where most of the excitement takes place. And, if you're not too fussy, you'll really find "Woman of Straw" fraught with suspense, that is if you don't mind a little old-fashioned Wilkie Collins kind of fraught.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Consistencies

1. The Compass

It points always
Not even true
North but through
Mountains, cities,

Electrical storms,
Laboratories,
With lover's-ease.
Say it performs

Till one place
Magnetic metal
Near. False,
In such a case.

Either to read
It fails or succeeds.

2. The Pendulum

Whether suspended
On sheer hair
Or steel, whether
Its swing's rapid,

Slow, the curve
Narrow or wide,
The plumb will preserve
On either side

Of the curve's mid-point
(never paused at)
Arcs exact.
Severed, it won't

Fly at what
It flew when cut.

DAVID GALLER

Toward New Solutions of Old Church-State Problems

Protestant Concepts of Church and State. By Thomas G. Sanders. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. \$7.50.

by Paul T. Heffron

CONTEMPORARY concern with the crucial problem of church-state relations in the United States began soon after the end of World War II. If one had to fix a precise time and event it would be safe to cite the 1947 decision of the Supreme Court in the New Jersey school bus case. This was not, as Mr. Justice Rutledge prophetically remarked, "just a little case over bus fares."

Indeed, the High Court's decision in the *Everson* case opened a great, though not always lucid debate over the proper relationship between government and religion under the American constitutional system. Hard on the heels of this decision, of course, came the formation of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State and the publication of Paul Blanshard's much publicized book *American Freedom and Catholic Power*.

The discussion continues, the book reviewed here being one of the latest additions to the now rather lengthy bibliography on the church-state question. Actually it is the first volume of a projected series called *Studies of Church and State*, published in cooperation with the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. Professor Sanders, the author, is presently teaching in the Department of Religious Studies at Brown University.

His specific purpose is to throw light on the attitude of the church toward the state, particularly as it appears in American Protestantism. Recognizing at the outset the difficulty of defining Protestantism, he tells the reader that he views it, for purposes of this study, as an "historical and sociological phenomenon," referring simply to the thought and institutions of those who claim to be Protestant.

Five typical Protestant answers to the relevant questions which revolve around the church-state issue are then identified. Summarily put, these questions ask whether there are reciprocal responsibilities between state and church and how Christians, both as individuals and in groups, ought to relate to the state. Since the questions are typical, so are the answers. Obviously, they do not reflect necessarily the thinking of all Protestants.

Three of the five Protestant positions selected have been associated with denominations, namely, Lutheran, Mennonite (Anabaptist), and Quaker. At the risk of oversimplification these positions may be capsulized. Historically, Lutheranism has looked upon church and state as two regiments. It has emphasized obedience to lawful authority and warned against becoming involved in temporal affairs. There are limits in this theory, however, to the state's power.

The state cannot interfere in the domain of the spiritual authorities and the ruler cannot compel a Christian to fight in an unjust war. When the state oversteps its boundaries the Christian may feel they must disobey.

Since the end of the war, as the author points out, Lutherans have been doing a good deal of rethinking of the concept of authority. Nazism was certainly an influencing factor. There is now more emphasis on church concern for social justice and on the idea that separation of church and state does not mean neutrality to God. In short, Lutheran passivity toward the political order is changing more rapidly than at any previous time in American history.

The Mennonite position on church-state historically has been one of resistance to any state activity that would violate an uncompromising Christian way of life. Symbolic of this denomination is its resistance to oath-taking, military service, and participation in social programs of

the government. There is increasing evidence of a broader conception by the Mennonites of social responsibilities, but Professor Sanders fears that too much change would endanger the valuable role of this group as the twentieth century's witness to the ethic of the Sermon on the Mount.

Less extensive, because perhaps less relevant to current church-state problems, is the treatment of the Quakers. Peaceful means and ends in foreign policy and social action on the part of government constitute the main interests of the Quakers.

Two Protestant positions on church-state have been developed more recently by groups labeled separationists and transformationists. Each has historical roots, the former in the English Puritans and the latter in Calvinism. The first is best illustrated by the POAU to which a large number of the Baptists subscribe.

It insists on an absolute separation of church and state, a separation so severe that it forbids government to display even the slightest friendly gesture to religion. Transformationism, on the other hand, represents a more flexible and, the author feels, a more sensible and rational stand. Men like John C. Bennett and Reinhold Niebuhr belong to this school. They believe strongly that the church should have the right to help shape society according to the will of God. For example, this group was unhappy over the *McCollum* decision. (Curiously, no mention is made of the New York school prayer or bible reading decisions.) Needless to add, these are the people who are carrying on an active dialogue with Catholic scholars on church-state matters.

Although Professor Sanders concentrates heavily on the historical backgrounds of the church-state dilemma, he does not hesitate to set forth judgments about present-day Protestant attitudes. These are expressed in a superlative concluding chapter.

What emerges from this analysis is a complex variety of Protestant positions on church and state. Is it possible to weave these conflicting strands into any kind of a coherent and viable theory? Professor Sanders is guardedly optimistic that it is. The contemporary Protestant must critically examine his own denominational tradition and be willing to learn from others. It is his conviction that a sense of relativism and self-criticism may be the most important Protestant contribution to church-state theory. For him church-state problems are problems of political and social ethics. Most denominations have failed to realize this, basing their positions on legal arguments, slogans, anti-Catholicism and self-interest. What is necessary in the years ahead, he argues, is for the different religions to realize the necessity of compromise between

institutional concerns and the responsibility of the church for a just society in which the interests of all groups and of society gain at least partial satisfaction.

If American Protestantism is to be effective in church-state matters, he concludes, it must abandon slogans and become aware of social changes that make old church-state policies irrelevant. His admonition on this score applies equally well to Catholics and Jews. The times demand new and creative solutions.

This book represents all that is commendable in a study of church-state relations. It is a model of meticulous scholarship, of superb synthesis and close analysis, and it is rigorous in its objectivity. As such it sets a high standard for future volumes. It will stand as an authoritative work to which all students of the subject will be indebted.

of faith in us." This intrinsic power is analogous to, while differing from, the power of the sacraments, and it is continued in the Church's ministry of the word (liturgy and preaching).

The essay is neatly balanced by "God's Word and Man's Reply" by O. Semmelroth, which emphasizes the reality and necessity of human response. It is surely a hopeful sign that this collection of essays has been produced (edited, and for the most part translated) by American seminarians and student-priests at the Canisianum of Innsbruck, with the help of others from the colleges at Louvain and Rome.

Balthasar warns us in an introduction that his six sketches are "outlines and suggestions," without a "claim to finality." He betrays a fascinating acquaintance with the great thinkers and theologians of the day, Heidegger, Jaspers, Löwith, Niebuhr, etc. He presents many excellent insights, such as his interpretation of eros in the Cantic of Canticles, and its relation to theology (pp. 159-62), or his words on Israel and Christianity (pp. 100-101). He is the master of the sweeping view that leaves one breathless. But there too lies the problem. One misses force in his reasoning; there is a wide vision, and serene claims are made for the power of the word in history, but there is little hard-nosed evidence. Certain statements generate serious doubt about his interpretation of history. For example the following is simply out of touch with Old Testament reality to say that "the spiritualized and ethical concepts of the [Old Testament] sapiential books [are not conceivable] apart from contact with hellenism."

At the beginning of his essay on priest and poet, K. Rahner comments, "Alas that there is no theology of the word!" The lament will stand despite the virtues of both the book under review. Perhaps the "lowly" science of linguistic analysis holds pertinent information that has not yet been tapped (speech as a mode of being); the whole process of communication must be subjected to further analysis. The recent studies on the hermeneutical problem, the problem of the interpretation of the

The Theology of the Word

The Word: Readings in Theology. Kenedy. \$4.95. *Word and Revelation.* By Hans Urs von Balthasar. Herder & Herder. \$3.95.

by Roland E. Murphy

RECENT Catholic theology has been preoccupied with the word of God, its various meanings and levels, and especially its efficacy. This trend is reflected also in the Liturgical Constitution of Vatican II, which speaks of Christ being "present in His word, since it is He Himself who speaks when the holy scriptures are read in the Church." The volumes under review continue the discussion of the word in its various aspects.

The "readings in theology" present in translation fifteen articles by foremost European theologians. Some of these are work-a-day pieces, and others truly distinguished; in several cases a certain overlapping takes place, but this is no harm. The intent is to bring to bear current thought on the word in revelation (good essays by K. Rahner, R. Latourelle and A. Léonard), in Scripture and the Fathers, and in preaching.

Five of the essays are devoted

to the latter topic. Y. Trémel and D. Grasso underscore the necessity of the familiar "pre-evangelization," and a kerygmatic orientation is common to all (e.g., "Christocentric preaching means preaching salvation-history"—so J. Ratzinger). Rahner is the author of two essays, a sermon on the priesthood, and a lyrical piece on "priest and poet" which has some memorable lines: "The word places the love of God in man's sphere of existence as love to which man can respond. The word is thus the effectiveness of love. It is effective word."

Perhaps the best contribution is the well known essay of E. Schillebeeckx on Word and Sacrament, entitled here, "Revelation in Word and Deed." He attempts to penetrate the mystery of the intrinsic efficacy of God's word, in itself, and in its liturgical context. Even human words have power—in their content and in their revealing the self of the speaker, and also in their invitation to the one who is spoken to, an invitation to dialogue. This power is all the more heightened when the word is from God, and in Christ. Christ's "human word has the power actually to effect an obedient answer

biblical word, give promise of a future harvest. We are still groping for an understanding of the biblical word and its life in the community of God's people, its relation to the other charismata with which it is inseparably connected in the historical process. Until this is achieved it is hard to escape vague and sometimes gratuitous expositions of the word and its efficacy.

Urban Renewal

The Federal Bulldozer. By Martin Anderson. The M.I.T. Press. \$5.95.

by Dennis Clark

THIS BOOK is subtitled "A critical analysis of urban renewal," and it certainly is. The author, whose background is in engineering and industrial management, has performed a diligent statistical search and has done prodigious work to obtain data from mountains of local and federal reports on labyrinthine renewal activities. In his introduction, the author states that many of the experts with whom he has discussed this book have told him that his presentation is "unbalanced." Unbalanced is a more kindly word than biased, slanted or loaded, but any of these terms would apply. It is unfortunate that so much information, well-presented statistical data and sound criticism should be mixed with so much prejudicial and gratuitous argument.

The author, who was a research fellow at the Joint Center for Urban Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, mauls away at the vast slum clearance and rebuilding program that has lurched through the cities of the nation since 1949. He concisely describes how the program is supposed to work according to our national housing legislation, and then presents his version of how the program has actually functioned.

The cleared land slated for rebuilding remains vacant too long. The predictions of city planners about the kinds of buildings to be erected are at variance with the ultimate construction results. Private developers, some of whom have been



Augustin
Cardinal Bea

UNITY IN FREEDOM

*Reflections on the
Human Family*

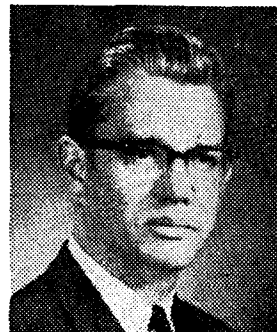
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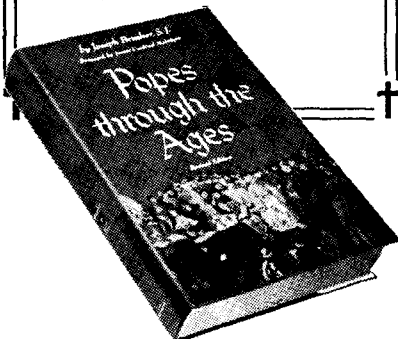
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trapped in planning changes or fanciful fiascos, have fought shy of involvement with urban renewal projects.

Rehabilitation of buildings, as an alternative to total reduction of older neighborhoods, is seen to be tortuous, tricky and costly. The author contends that renewal costs more than expected, and does not boost tax returns to nearly the extent envisioned: it doesn't spur the national economy, nor has it really improved housing quality. Finally, the poor and minority-group families are relocated badly, and the property of homeowners and small businessmen is callously confiscated by brutal bureaucrats.

In the course of his onslaught, with its whirring flights of statistics and catapulted quotes, Mr. Anderson constantly manages to defeat his own efforts. In one chapter, for instance, he sets up a whole array of straw men in one column and seriously slays them in straight-faced parallel passages. He leaves out whole relevant sectors in his battle plan, ignoring the entire history of city reform movements and the rudest realistic fundamentals of urban social change. Above all, he rarely misses an opportunity to wave strenuously the banners of good old unfettered free enterprise for the benefit of slum dwellers and misguided planners alike.

All the abuses that Mr. Anderson catalogs have indeed occurred in greater or lesser degree throughout the state. The same complaints can be made about the national highway program, the expansion of American railroads, the lumber industry, and even, for that matter, the settlement of the frontier.

The social changes and development of the American people have not been neat. Mr. Anderson would, in distressed disillusionment, "repeal the federal urban renewal program." What would he substitute? Why, good old red-blooded free enterprise. In an age of complex, massive and swiftly changing urban conditions, the author of this book offers as a solution to our problems a compound of bromides tantamount to nihilism.

Nobody has ever tried to rebuild cities while still preserving the de-

gree of freedom that we have. The efforts of a democratic society to produce a coherent urban order to meet the needs of a technological world have been marked by many failures. Some of these have been due to the stubborn refusal of Congress to write legislation that is flexible and workable. Many abuses have resulted from the get-rich-quick inroads of free enterprise potentates who have diverted programs from the public good to private profit. Families have suffered through the cavalier use of eminent domain powers.

The eminent domain laws are so easy to abuse because they are part of encrusted state legal systems doggedly defended by states' rights partisans. Small businesses and large are paid for "good will" when they are relocated, but families do not get payments proportionate to the problems of relocation. The cure for all this involves a lot more than invoking free enterprise. It was under the rapacious sway of laissez faire that our cities and suburbs were botched, bilked and slum-infected to begin with.

We need more planning and more control, better laws and much greater civic responsibility to rebuild urban communities. Much of the gain in housing quality and construction that Mr. Anderson ascribes to private business initiative has actually been the product of huge government interventions in the housing and building fields, and these interventions preceded, and far outpace, the urban renewal activities. Even here, however, we have had fantastic windfall profit scandals and ruthless suburban land jobbery.

Devising a workable system to rebuild and conserve urban property and community values is the foremost domestic social problem of our country today. It is a political, economic and cultural problem. To jettison the only machinery we now have in favor of the simplified slogans of a bygone age is both unrealistic and captious. What is needed is a much greater concentration of resources, intellectual, ethical and fiscal, to expand and make more valid the work we have begun. Mr. Anderson is critical without being very helpful.

More Iris Murdoch

The Italian Girl. By Iris Murdoch. Viking. \$4.50.

by Martin Tucker

IF IRIS MURDOCH keeps on going at this rate, she may turn into another Angela Thirkell. Her latest novel is a family drama in which a monk-like son is called home to attend the funeral of his mother, and while there to set the family affairs right. Anyone knowing anything about Miss Murdoch will guess that her family affairs are not exactly conventional.

In this novel they are surprisingly tame. Neither murder nor incest plays any great role, and homosexuality hovers about the atmosphere like a seedy fruit in a dry land but is never actively exploited as a character revelation or plot motivation. Indeed, Miss Murdoch gets very close to sentimentality and melodrama in her family's insistence on love. Her hero, Edmund, finds this "love" after admitting he knows ex-

actly where he lost it years before. The tyrannical mother, whose figure in death is almost as potent as it was in life, is thus banished from the scene, and Edmund, we are led to believe, has taken the giant step into the country beyond self-denial.

The difficulty is that, unlike most of Miss Murdoch's other fiction, the style is naturalistic. Edmund, the narrator, talks like a man newly washed from a psychoanalytic drubbing. In place of intellectual comedy there is an insistence on the need for self-knowledge and self-love. Such a quest has always been part of Miss Murdoch's aim, but it has never come clothed so barely before and in such sentimental guise.

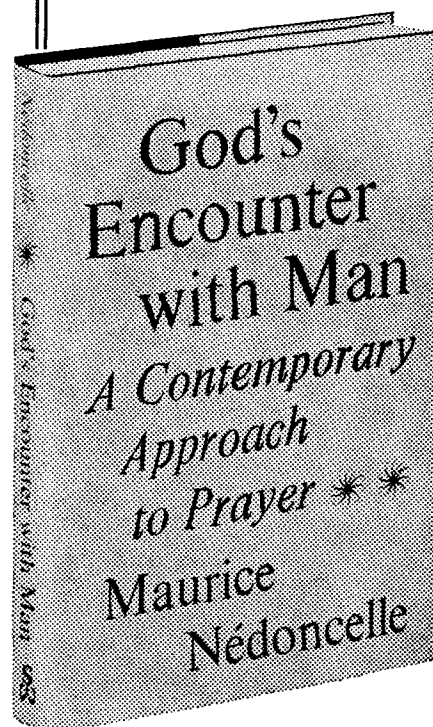
Edmund tells the reader that he and his brother Otto often confused Maggie, "the Italian girl," with the other Italian governesses who came in and out of their lives. Miss Murdoch is suggesting the mythic quality of Maggie—the solid, non-intellectual, deeply but calmly emotional figure of the South (Italy) in opposition to the hysterical, lost people of the North (England). Edmund himself is a man who has retreated from life. He neither smokes, drinks, nor goes to bed with another human being; an engraver, he has become as wooden as his blocks.

His brother Otto has become a drunkard and a horribly pig-like human being. His sister-in-law Isabel pretends a haughtiness to her husband's adulterous relationships with a mad young woman who lives in their summer house, but her attitude is only a cloak to hide her own passion for her husband's young apprentice. Their daughter Flora is a bloom of beauty, yet almost the first thing she tells her uncle Edmund upon his arrival is that she is pregnant and wants an abortion. In this household, only Maggie retains her elemental stability. The other characters must go to "the true North," the mad houses of their soul; only then can they, like Edmund and Maggie, return to the blissful Southern sun.

Any novel of Miss Murdoch is rewarding, if only for her catch-me-if-you-can flights of intellect; but the weaknesses of *The Italian Girl* are glaring. In addition to the superficial

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quality of Maggie, the novel seems to constitute an amalgam of disunified effects. The Gothic air of doom, the Jacobean immersion in poetry of sin, the Existentialist concentration on the moment all succeed; but the mock-Victorian chapter headings ("Otto's Laughter," "Edmund Is Tempted," "Uncle Edmund 'In Loco Parentis'") seem pretentious rather than funny. Nor do the symbols rightly work in the sense that they present, as in a shock, the whole of what has gone before. What Miss Murdoch means by having Flora shear off the Italian girl's hair is hazy, nor is it clear if Miss Murdoch intends as serious comedy or farcical effect the blow Otto gives his innocent brother.

The dirty underwear which Otto wears and which keeps pushing its way under and above Otto's pants into the reader's consciousness is another device whose usefulness is hard to fathom. That it repels Miss Murdoch, as well as her fastidious narrator, is evident; that it calls up all sorts of fantasies while at the same time keeping the mind in the dark is also clear; but beyond that, why make such a fuss about the "reprehensible long woolen pants"?

At one point Maggie is described as washing this underwear with a ritualistic grace, while a few minutes later Edmund asks himself, "What was an intelligent girl like Maggie doing wasting her time washing

Otto's things for him?" It is at such moments that one feels that Miss Murdoch may get on top of her subjects but that she does not get underneath their skin.

No Bardolatry

Nothing like the Sun. By Anthony Burgess. Norton. \$3.95.

by Bernard McCabe

A NOVEL about Shakespeare. Immediately we begin to yawn, especially this year. All those snippets of fact tricked out with conjecture have to be trotted out again—childhood in Stratford, Anne Hathaway, the obscure schoolmastering episode, the Lord Chamberlain's Company, failure, success, Greene's sneer, Meres' praise, the second-best bed, and so on and so on. Also, local color—jerkined groundlings chewing sausage or tossing sack. Also, olde-worlde converse—"I prithee," "Nay, thou durst not."

Burgess supplies all this and more, yet we don't yawn. To begin with the converse and the color are transmuted into an extraordinarily vivid verbal mock-up of Shakespeare's England. In *A Clockwork Orange* Burgess has already shown himself to be a very clever "word-boy" (as he calls his hero, "WS"); here he devises a neo-Elizabethan dialect for

his tale that manages to combine a rich Shakespearian vocabulary with lively post-Joycean constructions:

"So," says Hoby to Anne. "I have thee, nops, sucket, little ringocandy. Queen of Fortunato and Eractelenty, so shalt be. I will take thee to where the geese dance trenchmore and apes play at tickatack." The effect is not so much pastiche Elizabethan as pastiche Joyce (especially the library scene in *Ulysses*).

Burgess dares anything. The striping poet struggles for a rhyme, "Right light fight wight tight. WS pondered, eyes rolling like tennisballs at the low rafters." And the middle-aged playwright makes love, "I possess her in a terrible joy, the appetite growing with the act of feeding, which astonishes me." Lapses occur—of the little-did-she-know type—"And there he sits," said his mother, "with idle versing and naught else in his head. What money will it ever bring in?"—and of the lecture-notes-from-English-167 type—"He was editing a sonnet . . . the sonnet's shape that was first made by the Earl of Surrey, English having too few rhymes for the strict Italian form." But these are rare clumsinesses in a general atmosphere of deft sophistication.

As for the "facts" about the poet's life, Burgess is able to sound reasonably convincing while using an ingenious "interpretation" of the great Sonnet Sequence as a text for his imaginative inventions. And with these poems as a background the bard is put through a very large number of diverse sexual hoops. The opposite poles of his love-life are "a black woman and a golden man." The golden man is Harry Wriothesley, the handsome young Earl of Southampton, who becomes, for Burgess's purpose, W.H., the "onlie begetter." The black woman, the "Dark Lady of the Sonnets," turns out to be Lucy Negro, a beautiful Malayan prostitute.

WS divides his passion between them, addresses sonnets to each, and is variously wounded by both. The story is densely-textured, as WS's search for sexual fulfillment is intertwined with a deprived child's search for social establishment and an artist's search for vision into "all time's

worship

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secrets." Thus his beloved golden Earl is also the key to the Court and preferment; his Dark Lady is also his White Goddess. But as the novel ends, worldly success has become a dusty achievement, and the vision of truth is dark and cruel. WS has abandoned both his lovers, has abandoned his gay comedies, his Court histories, and the Sonnets themselves. "In disgust that man should be born in baseness," he is about to embark upon *Troilus and Cressida*. Ahead, we can infer, lie the dark comedies.

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is summed up in an Epilogue: "Literature is an epiphenomenon of the flesh"—the pompous formulation is no doubt intended to convey ironical overtones, but it is what Burgess in effect keeps saying. (His Shakespeare has some of the air of a Rimbaud or Baudelaire plumbing the depths of experience in order to recreate it). The trouble is that the flesh emerges as arid and brutal. The child WS, classically, saw something nasty in a parental closet, "white ghosts coupling in watery light." The result is an aggressive attitude toward coupling in general, as an expense of spirit in a waste of shame.

It is true that the hero's attitude to women accords well with some aspects of *Troilus and Cressida* and with the savage Sonnet 147 that figures so largely in this novel, but otherwise such an attitude would hardly seem profound in any man, let alone Shakespeare. It is simply inadequate as a total account of the poet who wrote the sonnets; and a sequel to this picture of his formative years, taking him in similar style through the great tragedies (*Antony and Cleopatra*, say) and the great last comedies (*The Winters Tale*, *The Tempest*) would be horrible to contemplate.

But Mr. Burgess clearly intends no such thing. Further, although this novel if taken quite seriously does have something cold and ugly about it, a healthy wit and poise in the writing act as leaven. Moreover, apart from the conscious rambunctiousness of the style and its note of virtuoso performance, there are plenty of hints—in the epigraph and its sequels, for instance, or in the scholarly jokes (these sometimes too arch, as in the "spurgeoning" river on page one)—that this is not a very solemn occasion. An original novel, and, in 1964, a nice specific against bardolatry.

REVIEWERS

Paul T. Heffron teaches political science at Boston College.

Father Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm. is the Editor of the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*.

Dennis Clark has worked in various phases of social action on urban and interracial problems.

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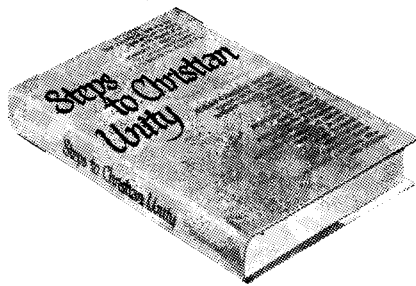
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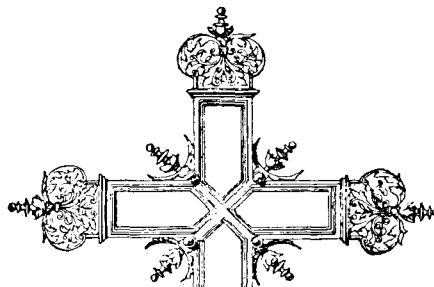
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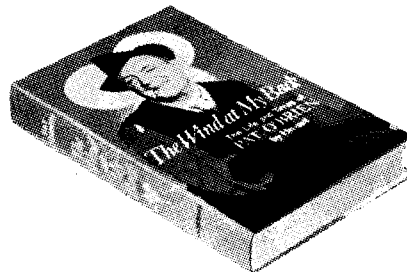
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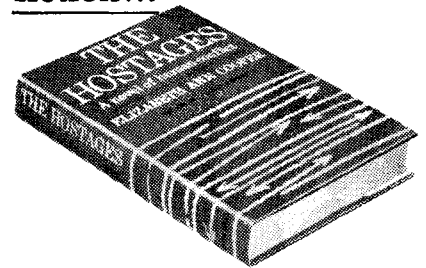
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